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Hukamnamas
OF
GURU TEGH BAHADUR

A HISTORICAL STUDY

Sabinderjit Singh Sagar

GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY, AMRITSAR

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FOREWORD

Hukamnamas of the Sikh Gurus, a significant source of the Sikh history, have not received much scholarly attention. Scholars like Ganda Singh, Shamsher Singh Ashok and Fauja Singh have edited the *hukamnamas* collected by Bhai Randhir Singh and have tried to analyse them historically. They have succeeded in underlining their importance but their studies are of preliminary nature. Hence, there is a much scope in the field.

It is a matter of great pride that Dr. Sabinderjit Singh Sagar, Professor, Department of Guru Nanak Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar has taken up the challenge and has studied the *hukamnamas* attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. He has employed scientific approach to ascertain the genuineness of these documents and has taken great pain in arranging them and in determining their mutual relations in spite of the fact that these documents are not dated. The evidence drawn from the study is discussed in a broader perspective taking into consideration the *bani* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The work tries to underline the organizational acumen of a religious leader like Guru Tegh Bahadur in the period of crisis.

Facsimiles of *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur, their text and translation into English will be welcomed by all the scholars interested in the Sikh Studies. The index of names of persons contained in these *hukamnamas* will prove to be useful key for their studies.

I wish the work would prove to be a significant contribution in the field of Sikh history.

S.P. Singh (Dr.)
Vice-Chancellor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present venture into the study of *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur is purely academic. During my association with a project "An Illustrated Biography of Guru Tegh Bahadur", launched by the Department of Guru Nanak Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar as a member of a pilot survey team, I happened to come across a number of *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur, both authentic and unauthentic, at various places in Punjab and outside the state. These *hukamnamas* fascinated me greatly. But I realised that their authenticity had not been paid much scholarly attention. In this connection, I made a humble attempt in the form of a research paper entitled, "The Study of Hukamnamas associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur" which was presented at the 23rd Session of Punjab History Conference at Patiala in 1989. After a gap of over seven years, I revived my plan of research on *hukamnamas* on the motivation of my colleagues and wrote a few papers on the themes of the arrangement of *hukamnamas* in a chronological order, analysis of the study of *hukamnamas* and the significance of the evidence provided by the documents. All the papers appeared in the *Journal of Sikh Studies* from time to time. The present work is the culmination of my academic persuits. It underlines the significance of the source which provides an idea into the organizational aspect of the Sikh *Panth*. It is worth noting that the insights provided by the *bani* of Guru Tegh Bahadur is very useful to understand the significance of the evidence found in the *hukamnamas*. Resultantly, it helps in reconstructing the life and deeds of the ninth Guru.

In the preparation of the present work, I have received immense help, cooperation and inspiration from a number of friends for which it is my utmost duty to express a few words of gratitude. First of all, I owe my greatest debt to my friend,

Prof. Surjit Singh Hans, formerly Head, Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar for giving his time generously to improve the quality of work by providing invaluable suggestions. My colleagues Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon, Reader, Department of Guru Nanak Studies and Dr. Harbhajan Singh Bhatia, Reader, School of Punjabi Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar deserve special thanks for motivating me to complete the work. Prof. J.K. Dhillon, Department of Guru Nanak Studies and Dr. Sukhdev Singh Sohal, Reader, Department of History have worked hard to read the entire proof of the book. Other persons who were associated with the book in any manner whatsoever are Prof. Madanjit Kaur, formerly Head, Guru Gobind Singh Chair, Prof. Raijasbir Singh and Prof. Narinder Kaur Bhatia, Department of Guru Nanak Studies. I am thankful to all of them.

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I am also thankful to Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar and the Punjabi University, Patiala for helping me to use some of the facsimiles of *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur for this volume. S. Jagjit Singh Walia, Director, Press & Publications Department, G.N.D. University and his staff members deserve my special thanks for their co-operation.

I have no words to express my gratitude to Dr. S.P. Singh, Vice-Chancellor, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar for writing the foreword of my book.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Hukamnama is an important source of the Sikh history. Most scholars consider it a valuable source of evidence on the life and works of the Gurus. It throws light on the organization of the Sikh congregations and also provides invaluable insights on a number of issues related to the Sikh *Panih*. The present work aims at studying critically the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Evaluation of studies undertaken by scholars on the subject would determine the justification and scope of the study.

The history of the scholarly interest in *hukamnamas* is not very old. It started in the second decade of the twentieth century by G.B. Singh a dedicated scholar of Punjabi language and the Sikh religion. In 1915-16, he wrote two articles in 'Decca Review' giving translated versions of a few *hukamnamas* including the one of Guru Tegh Bahadur. He had come across these documents during his research visits to Decca *Sangat*. His comments on the *hukamnamas* were critical and underlined the significance of the documents for the reconstruction of the Sikh activities in the eastern part of the country.

Sikh history and its sources drew much attention of the scholars at the end of third decade of the present century. The Phulwari, a Punjabi magazine was the rallying forum of the scholars. Karam Singh Historian, in one of his articles on sources of Sikh history pointed out that there was an urgent need to collect this valuable source preserved in certain families and institutions. However, his wish to reproduce the important *hukamnamas* consulted by him could not be fulfilled because of his sudden demise. An urgent need of the collection of *hukamnamas* was also emphasised by Gyani Hira Singh Dard. In his article entitled *Hukamname Ate Ahadname* (*hukamnamas* and treaties) a photograph of a *hukmnama* of Guru Gobind

Singh written to the *Sangat* of Macchiwara and two treaties between Lahore Darbar and the East India Company were reproduced alongwith its text in *Gurmukhi*. However, the rising interest in Sikh history did not yield much result as far as the collection of *hukamnamas* was concerned.

An organised endeavour, in this connection, was made in late sixties. The Sikh History Research Board, Amritsar under the aiges of Dr. Ganda Singh deputed Bhai Randhir Singh, Research Scholar to collect the *hukamnamas* and other historical documents. He visited places connected with the history of Sikh *Panth* and collected either the *hukamnamas* or procured their photographs.

Ganda Singh edited his book on *hukamnamas* in the year 1969 under the title *Hukamname*. In the same year, the Sikh History Research Board, Amritsar brought out an edited work on *hukamnamas* under the title *Nishan Te Hukamname* edited by Shamsher Singh Ashok. Both the scholars utilised the same collection which was preserved with the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar. These works contain facsimiles of *hukamnamas* and *nishans* of Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai, Guru Harkrishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. Other letters contained in the works are by Baba Gurditta, Mata Gujari, Mata Sundari, Mata Sahib Devi and Banda Bahadur. Edicts issued by various religious authorities like *Takhats* and the *Khalsa* are also included.

As far as the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur are concerned, both the scholars are not unanimous in their choice. Ganda Singh's book contains twenty three *hukamnamas*, out of which one *hukamnama* (G-38) is wrongly attributed to the tenth Guru. However, Shamsher Singh Ashok's book contains thirty *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It has eight additional *hukamnamas*, whereas one *hukamnama* (G-24) which is available in Ganda Singh's work has been left out. Hence, the total number of *hukamnamas* contained in both the works are thirty one.

Ganda Singh's approach appears to be cursory. Attribution of a *hukamnama* to a Guru is not based on any firm ground as it is apparent in the case of a *hukamnama* of Guru Tegh Bahadur attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. Lack of critical approach does not allow the scholar to provide any explanation for the *hukamnamas* found in two unidentical hands attributed to the ninth Guru. Unlike Ganda Singh, Shamsher Singh Ashok is aware of the *hukamnama* of the ninth Guru wrongly attributed to Guru Gobind. However, he wrongly attributed *hukamnama* (A-29). Its hand does not appear to be identical with other *hukamnamas* of the Guru. Moreover, it was addressed to Bhai Dyal Das. He does not provide any explanation for the exclusion of one of Guru Tegh Bahadur's *hukamnamas* (G-24) addressed to the *Sangat* of Patna, asking the congregation to send a few items to Nawab Saif Khan as gifts. The work is significant in being a rare *hukamnama* (A-20ੲ) written by a scribe containing an endorsement. The endorsement is in the hand of Guru Tegh Bahadur as the scribe mentions that it is being written on the instructions of the Guru. The endorsement only serves to authenticate the document. Hence, it could serve as a basic document in order to determine the authenticity of other *hukamnamas* as well. Other additional *hukamnamas* are also valuable in more than one way.

After a decade another work on *hukamnamas* appeared on the occasion of the tercentenary of Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom. The work is entitled *Hukamnamas : Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib* edited by Fauja Singh who claims to have taken up the subject more seriously by utilising the newly discovered *Bhatt Vahis*. An attempt to arrange the *hukamnamas* in some sort of chronological order also appears to have been made.

Fauja Singh reproduced only those *hukamnamas* that Ganda Singh had attributed to the ninth Guru except one *hukamnama* (G-24) without providing any plausible explanation for its exclusion. He repeated the mistake committed by Shamsher Singh Ashok by not including one of Guru Tegh Bahadhur's *hukamnamas* (G-24) containing reference to Saif

Khan. His dependence on Ganda Singh's work did not allow him to include additional *hukamnamas* that were available in Ashok's work. He even failed to realise the significance of *hukamnama* (A-20ੲ) for the study of *hukamnamas*.

The significance of Fauja Singh's work appears to be in his attempt to provide these *hukamnamas* a chronological order in spite of the fact that these documents are undated. In this regard, he claimed to have utilised other contemporary source like *Bhatt Vahis*. But the problem with the source lies in its unreliability. For example, the date of birth of child Gobind according to the *Bhatt Vahis* is *Poh Sudi* 7, *Sambat* 1718 Bk which corresponds to December 18, 1661 A.D. whereas the conventional date is December 22, 1666 A.D. According to the *Bhatt Vahis* the birth of tenth Guru took place prior to the pontificate of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The scholar seems to have been aware of this problem as he places the *hukamnamas* connected with the congregations of Patna, Benaras, Mirzapur and Monghyr in the period 1667-68. However, he does not appear to have paid much attention to the internal evidence of *hukamnamas*. He has no inkling of the crisis that appeared after the Guru's pontificate as is suggested by the text of a few *hukamnamas* in an indirect manner. Even the compositions of Guru Tegh Bahadur are not utilised by the scholar in order to interpret the *hukamnamas*.

In fact the above works are aimed at introducing the source both to the scholars of Sikh history and the Sikhs at large. Their approach incorporates devotional overtone as well. No scholar has attempted to verify the authenticity of the documents. Collection of *hukamnamas* and their attribution to the Gurus are not based on any sound logical ground. Similarly, handwriting and style of writing are not accorded much attention. Ascriptions (*mangal*) and endorsements of various kinds found in the *hukamnamas* are not interpreted critically. Thus, they failed to realise the significance of these features as they could play a decisive role in the study of the source.

Both the scholars were aware of the historical values of the source, but their approach to the source was dichotomic. Ganda Singh was of the opinion that only two or three *hukamnamas* has direct reference to historical events. The 'things demanded' by the Guru, in the *hukamnamas* was considered to be a basis for exploration of history. Fauja Singh also divided the evidence as "definite" and "not definite". The dichotomic approach inclined the scholars to rely on the material information only. Apparently they were not bothered about the intricate nature of the documents. Consequently, either the demand for more historical source material was emphasised or the historical crisis of the period was blamed for lack of source material. Fauja Singh remarks that precious historical material was destroyed during the turbulent period of eighteenth century.

Lack of critical approach is also evident from the fact that the scholars did not use the word " *hukamnamas*" precisely. A *hukamnama* is, in fact, a letter of command or instruction written by the Sikh Gurus to Sikh *Sangats* or prominent Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur called his letter a *hukamnama* (A-31; G-15). But the *hukamnamas* collected in these works do not belong only to this category. Not only letters issued by the prominent Sikhs on behalf of the Guru and by the members of Guru family but also the ones issued by Banda, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Devi after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh are there. Even the edicts issued on behalf of the *Khalsa* and also by the *Takhats* are categorised as *hukamnamas*.

A critical study of the literature on *hukamnamas* provides us insights to deal with the source. Humble attempt like the present one approaches *hukamnamas* in two ways. Firstly, the available *hukamnamas* are studied critically to ensure their authenticity. An attempt is made to determine the authorship of the *hukamnamas* which do not have endorsements in the identical hand. In the study, a few *hukamnamas* are discussed for the first time in order to ensure the touchstone of genuineness. All the *hukamnamas* found authentic, are arranged in a sequence on the basis of internal evidence. An

effort has been made to determine their mutual relationship. The entire structure of relationships is placed in chronological order to understand and appreciate the evidence in a proper perspective.

Secondly, insights drawn from the exercise are helpful in the understanding of the evidence. Every evidence is a tiny part of a complex web of historical reality, not to be interpreted in isolation. Besides, the evidence of *hukamnamas* has been studied in the light of Guru Tegh Bahadur's own compositions. It is my firm belief that it is not yet sufficient to understand the past in a holistic manner as the historical reality is far more complex and requires further scholarly attempts in the field.

GENUINENESS OF THE *HUKAMNAMAS*

A cursory look at thirty one *hukamnamas*[1] attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur reveals that they are not in one hand suggesting their disputed authorship and a need to ascertain the genuineness of Guru Tegh Bahadur's *hukamnamas*. Fortunately, there is a *hukamnama* (A-20 ੪) in the book *Nishan Te Hukamname* that helps us in this respect. It is written in two hands, out of which the main text seems to have been written by a scribe. It states that the *hukamnama* has been written on the instructions of 'Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Jeo' to the *Sangat* of Jagdeo under Bhai Ugar Sain. On the upper part of the *hukamnama*, almost the same content is repeated by a different hand in vertical. The hand of endorsement is taken to be that of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Twenty *hukamnamas* out of thirty one are not written by the scribe and are endorsed by the issuing authority. These are written entirely in one hand similar to that of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The remaining ten *hukamnamas* are written by the scribe and contain endorsements in a different hand.

In order to underline the authenticity of the basic *hukamnama*, it is essential to compare it with three *hukamnamas* whose internal evidences suggest that they are written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. The first *hukamnama* (A-31; G-15) is written from Monghyr where the Guru had stayed for a brief period. Two *hukamnamas* (A-35; G-21) and (A-34; G-23) contain Guru Tegh Bahadur's response on receiving the news of Gobind's birth at Patna and the looking after the child by Patna *Sangat*. All these *hukamnamas* are not written by scribe and endorsed by the Guru. On the other hand, they are entirely written in one hand. On comparing it with the basic *hukamnama*, it becomes clear that they share the characteristics of hand and style. The *hukamnama* starts with the ascription (*mangal*) '*gur sat*' or '*guru*

sati'. In place of the vowel sign 'a' (ਾ) the drop is used. Besides, the structure of some other vowel signs like 'ai' (ੈ) and 'o' (ੋ) are also peculiar. The peculiarity of hand is prominent in a number of letters especially in the formation of a loop like figure. The characteristic of hand not only underlines their unitary character but also helps us to exclude other *hukamnamas* attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. On the basis of hand, only twenty one out of thirty one *hukamnamas* are considered to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur.[2] As stated above except basic *hukamnama*, all others are entirely written by the Guru.

I

The remaining ten *hukamnamas* are not written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. Other distinct characteristics of these *hukamnamas* are the use of expression *nihalu hogu*. Six out of ten contain the expression[3]. Two out of the remaining four are not complete and one is undecipherable. Not a single *hukamnama* written by Guru Tegh Bahadur contains the expression. These *hukamnamas* are classified into five groups:

I	One *hukamnama*	(A-37; G-9)
II	One *hukamnama*	(A-48)
III	Six *hukamnamas*	(A-23; G-8); (A-24; G-25); (A-25; G-26); (A-27; G-27); (A-28; G-29) and (A-26)
IV	One *hukamnama*	(A-22; G-30)
V	One *hukamnama*	(A-29)

Like the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the *hukamnama* of the first group contains ascription *gur sati* at the start but its hand differs considerably. It is addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal of Benaras *Sangat* and is entirely in one hand. Not only the hand is different, the spelling, too, of names of persons mentioned in the *hukamnama* are not same as in the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur addressed to Benaras *Sangat*. In the *hukamnama*, Bhai Javehari Mal and Kalyan Das

are spelt as Javehari Malu (ਜਵੇਹਰਿ ਮਲੁ) and Kalyani Dasu or Kalyan Das (ਕਲਿਆਣਿ ਦਾਸੁ/ਕਲਿਆਨ ਦਾਸ). These names are spelt Javehar or Javehari Malu (ਜਵੇਹਰ/ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਮਲੁ) and Kalyan Dasu (ਕਲਿਆਨ ਦਾਸੁ) in Guru Tegh Bahadur's *hukamnamas*. So there is a little doubt that the *hukamnama* does not belong to Guru Tegh Bahadur.

Six *hukamnamas* contain the expression *nihal hogu*. Two *hukamnamas* of group III contain the expression in the endorsement, besides the main body. They are (A-23; G-8) and (A-27; G-27). The expression is also found in the *hukamnamas* of Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh, besides the *hukamnamas* of Mata Sundari.[4] In many of the *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh, the expression occurs more than once. In one *hukamnama* (A-67; G-36) the expression comes both in the main body as well as in the endorsement. All these *hukamnamas* can be placed in two categories. The *hukamnamas* of the first category contain ascription of *guru rakhaiga* (ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ) at the start of endorsement. But the *hukamnamas* containing the ascription *guru sati* or *sat guru* fall into second category. The second category includes *hukamnamas* of Ist, IInd and Vth groups, group IIIrd and IVth come under first category. The expression *guru rakhaiga* is found also in almost all the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. But it is not used as an ascription. There is one distinct feature. The *hukamnamas* having the ascription *guru rakhaiga* in the endorsement, do not contain it in the main body. Only one *hukamnama* drafted by the scribe and endorsed by Guru Tegh Bahadur himself contains a similar expression *guru tusadi rakhaiga* both in the body and in the endorsement. Hence, it appears that the *hukamnamas* containing the expression *guru rakhaiga* as an ascription are significantly different from the *hukamnamas* of second category and suggest a specific meaning.

Almost all the *hukamnamas* of group III contain the expression *guru rakhaiga* in the endorsement and 'Sri Guru Jeo' is the opening line of the letter. This is not in consonance

with the opening words of *hukamnama* (A-20Ɛ) by the scribe. It suggests that the endorsement are not made by the Guru but by someone else on his behalf. Because of this, *hukamnamas* containing ascription *guru sati* or *sat guru* are written by Guru Tegh Bahadur and those containing the expression Sri Guru Jeo are written on behalf of the Guru. A look into the *hukamnamas* of Guru Hargobind and his son Bhai Gurditta supports our contention. A *hukamnama* of Guru Hargobind starts with the ascription *guru sati* (also *sati guru* in another) whereas the *hukamnama* by Gurditta opens with *guru rakhaiga*.[5] The change of ascription indicates the change of person as an issuing authority. The first is written by the Guru and the second on behalf of the Guru. Similarly, the *hukamnamas* written by Mata Sundari after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh have *sarbat Khalsa guru rakhaiga* in the endorsement by her own hand.[6] Hence, there is no doubt that six *hukamnamas* of group III and one of group IV are written on behalf of the Guru.

From the discussion, it is evident that the *hukamnama* of group I is written by the Guru. It contains the expression *nihalu hoe*. But the expression is at the end of the *hukamnama*. It is also known that the expression does not occur in the other *hukamnamas* by Guru Tegh Bahadur. On the contrary, two *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh bear the expression at the end. One is addressed to Bhai Ram Rai and Dai Lado and is pasted on the 40th folio of a manuscript copy of *Guru Granth*, preserved at Maini *Sangat* Gurdwara, Patna City. Another is addressed to Bhai Gurdas of Patna *Sangat*.[7] The handwritings of these *hukamnamas* have similarity with the *hukamnama* under discussion. The only difference is that of ascription. The ascription in Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnamas* is *Ek Onkar sat guru* whereas this *hukamnama* starts with *guru sati*. But a perusal of Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnamas* reveals that there are two ascription used in them. The first is *Ek Onkar sat guru* and the second is *Ek Onkar guru sati*. Hence, the difference of ascription no more remains a significant factor of distinction.

There is a significant fact that helps us to know the authorship of the *hukamnama* (A-37; G-9). It contains an expression *khasmana karna*. It is also found in the *hukamnama* of Hargobind.[8] Three of Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnamas* also bear it.[9] These include one of Guru Gobind Singh's two *hukamnamas* mentioned above. But not a single *hukamnama* of Guru Tegh Bahadur contains the word *khasmana*. Even the *hukamnamas* written on behalf of the Guru are without it. It leads us to believe that the *hukamnama* of group I is of Guru Gobind Singh. Similarly, the *hukamnama* of group II has some similarity of hand with that of the first group. Though the *hukamnama* is not complete and appears to have been written on the cover of the *hukamnama* yet it contains ascription of *Ek Onkar sati guru* which is generally found in the *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh. But for want of tangible evidence, it could not be attributed to Guru Gobind Singh with certainty.

As discussed above, all the six *hukamnamas* are written on behalf of the Guru. But the question arises on behalf of which Gurus these are written? All are addressed to Bhai Batha of Pattan *Sangat*. Besides, there are more *hukamnamas* addressed to Pattan *Sangat*. They include one *hukamnama* of Guru Harkrishan, a few written by Guru Gobind Singh and one of Mata Sahib Devi. The *hukamnama* of Guru Harkrishan contains the name of prominent Sikhs i.e. Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga and Bhai Nihchal. It also contains the name of Bhai Batha.[10] In the *hukamnama* the receipt of the offerings sent to the Guru through Bhai Batha is acknowledged, suggesting relatively lower status of Bhai Batha in Pattan *Sangat* as his duty was that of a messenger. On the other hand, Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnamas* are not addressed to any Sikh.[11] As the six *hukamnamas* are addressed to Bhai Batha, its authorship could not be attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. Hence these *hukamnamas* must have been written after Guru Harkrishan. It could be safely presumed that these were written during the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur on his behalf, because the handwriting of the scribe of these *hukamnamas* are quite

identical with that of the basic *hukamnama*.

The *hukamnama* of the fourth group is addressed to Bhai Malla and Bhai Bagha of a *Sangat* whose name is not mentioned. The main text is written by the scribe and endorsed on the upper part very briefly. Both the scribe and the endorser do not seem to be the same as in the six *hukamnamas*. Both use 's' and 'r' jointly as *sr* (ਸ੍ਰ); the scribe while writing *srabat* (ਸ੍ਰਬਤ) and endorser while writing *srakar* (ਸ੍ਰਕਾਰ). As the endorsement starts with the ascription *guru rakhaiga* in the same manner as are found in the six *hukamnamas* and their hand has a striking similarity, it is placed in group III.

The *hukamnama* (A-29) of the last group could not be deciphered completely because of illegibility of hand. There is no use of vowel signs. Whatever little could be deciphered, helps us to know that the *hukamnama* is addressed to Bhai Dyal Das and Sati Das. It is entirely written in one hand with the ascription *Ek Onkar gur sat* at the start, suggesting that the *hukamnama* is written by the Guru. A comparison of the *hukamnama* with other *hukamnamas* addressed to Patna *Sangat* clearly suggests that its attribution to Guru Tegh Bahadur is not adequate.

On the basis of the study, it is concluded that out of 31 *hukamnamas*, twenty one are written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. Seven are written during the times of Guru Tegh Bahadur on his behalf. Two out of remaining three are written by Guru Gobind Singh. However, the authorship of remaining one could not be ascertained.

II

The framework provided by the study helps us to look into the genuineness of other *hukamnamas* attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. Besides twenty eight *hukamnamas* mentioned above there are a few *hukamnamas* that are claimed to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. Among them, three are available at a Gurdwara Bhai Banno at Kanpur where the popular *Khari Bir* of Bhai Banno is kept. One of them, addressed

to Bhai Ugar Sain and Bhai Lal Chand is included in the work *Nishan Te Hukamname* at no. 20H. Shamsher Singh Ashok has attributed it to Guru Tegh Bahadur. It is one of the twenty eight *hukamnamas* discussed above. The second *hukamnama* also addressed to Ugar Sain and included in the work mentioned above is said to have been written by Guru Hargobind. But Ashok is doubtful about the authorship of the *hukamnama*. He is of the opinion that the *hukamnama* seems to have been penned by someone among the Guru family. As the opening line of the endorsement (*guru tusadi rakhaiga*) suggests that it is written by someone on behalf of the Guru. Lack of similarity of hand with genuine *hukamnamas* does not seem to uphold the claim that it was written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. The third *hukamnama* is also addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain and others and similar to second as far the handwriting is concerned.[12]

A photocopy of a partially burnt *hukamnama* was in the possession of the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar. Names of a few Sikhs that survived in the letter suggest that it was addressed to Patna *Sangat*. A minute study of letters leaves no doubt about the authorship; it was penned by Guru Tegh Bahadur.

There are two *hukamnamas*, attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, whose original text is not extant. Scholars who consulted them, cited only their translation or transliteration in English. In the article 'Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal', G. B. Singh has given the translation of a *hukamnama* claimed to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur[13]. It is addressed to Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Nathormal and Saddrimal. It is stated to have been written by the scribe and is endorsed by the Guru. The scholar failed to decipher the whole text of the *hukamnama*.

The *hukamnama* has also drawn the attention of Dr. Ved Prakash. In his book *The Sikhs in Bihar*, it is stated that "The latter is undated and the time suggested by the writer of the article does not appear to be in accordance with facts because, as already shown..., the Guru did not pay another visit to Patna

on his way homeward from Decca. So, if ever this latter was from Patna, it must have been done so before the Guru's departure for the east."[14] But the author does not go into the question of the genuineness of the *hukamnama*. However Dr. Prakash's treatment suggests a sense of indecision in accepting the *hukamnama* as authentic. Hence there is a need to discuss the *hukamnama* on the basis of information supplied by G. B. Singh.

The scholar states that "A mere perusal (of the *hukamnama*) will make it at once clear that the original letter in each case is by the Guru himself and that the second version by his secretary or scribe, who does not merely copy out the letters again, but naturally introduced such phrases as 'This is the order of Guru' or by the order of the Guru, etc..."[15] Writing about the *hukamnama*, the scholar says "This letter is in a different handwriting and the script used in the key is the same, as in the three original letters (three *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh) discussed above, with only some vowel marks omitted."[16] His inability 'to completely decipher the fourth duplicate letter, notwithstanding the key', is because of peculiarity of hand in which 'vowel-marks are not used at all and the headline of most characters is also omitted; the characters also appear to be different.'[17] The sceptic view of a prominent scholar of *Gurmukhi* script suggests obliquely that the said *hukamnama* was not written by Guru Tegh Bahadur himself. However, the ascriptions of the *hukamnama* helps us in this connection. The first ascription by the scribe is "I Aumkar Satguru" (ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ) and the endorsement contains the second ascription "May God Protect You" (ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ). These ascriptions suggest that the *hukamnama* was written on behalf of the Guru. But the translation of the endorsement on the *hukamnama* creates some confusion as it states that "I want one chira and one aswari.." suggesting that the endorsement was made by the Guru himself. If the endorsement is attributed to the Guru than the ascription must have been *guru sati* (ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿ) as is the case of *hukamnama* addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain (A-20ੲ).

In fact, the *hukamnama* is written on behalf of Guru Tegh Bahadur the confusion appears to be due to inappropriate translation. The scholar also admits that he could not decipher the content of the endorsement completely. In this regard, it is significant to note that no *hukamnama* of Guru Tegh Bahadur refers to the Guru in first person. The endorsement of all the *hukamnamas*, both written by the Guru or on his behalf contain expression *hazur* (ਹਜੂਰ) for the Guru. Similarly the expression *guru rakhaiga* (ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ) has wrongly been translated as "May God Protect You". For example, the expression *sarbat Sangat guru rakhaiga* contained in the *hukamnama* of Guru Gobind Singh (G-40) has been translated as "may God protect the whole congregation."[18]

Hence, there is a little doubt that the *hukamnama* is written on behalf of the Guru Tegh Bahadur. In this connection it is significant to note that the name of two Sikhs Bhai Bhagmal and Chhabildas mentioned in the *hukamnamas* are also referred to in *hukamnamas* of Patna *Sangat*. Moreover, a *hukamnama* addressed to Benaras *Sangat* states that the Guru's horse named Sridhar was ill at Benaras and the present *hukamnama* demands a new horse (ਅਸਵਾਰੀ) from a *Sangat* at Decca. Both the facts appear to be interrelated. However, in the absence of original *hukamnama* it is placed separately.

Another *hukamnama*, attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, is reproduced in Roman letters by T.P. Russell Stracey in the work *The History of the Muhiyals*.[19] The text of *hukamnama* appears to have been written on the instruction of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Bhai Lakhya, Sahib and Lada. The reproduced *hukamnama* appears to be incomplete. Besides, absence of endorsement, the *hukamnama* does not contain any specific instruction. Even the reproduction of *hukamnama* suggests that some portions of the text is missing. For example, after the initial two lines the text only contains two expressions *Sangat de manorath guru pure karega* and *Sangat di seva da vela hai* in two indented lines suggesting that some part of the text is missing because of inability to decipher the text.

The *hukamnama* starts with the ascription *'Ek-Onkar'* and like early *hukamnama* (A-20ੲ) addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain contains Guru Tegh Bahadur's name by the scribe.[20] Even some of the expressions in the *hukamnama* bear a striking similarity with the other *hukamnmas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur.[21] All these characteristics suggest that the *hukamnama* is undoubtedly a genuine one, but is not fully reproduced.

During my survey, I came across six more *hukamnamas* claimed to have been associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur. Five of them are preserved in a Gurdwara at Hasanpur-Kabulpur in Patiala district. The sixth one is in Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran at Patiala.

One of the *hukamnama* is on copper plate and is stated to have been issued by the Bengal Darbar. It also contains the name of Fateh Chand Mewra. Another *hukamnama*, containing the reference to Fateh Chand is stated to have been issued by Kashi Darbar. In the third *hukamnama* the name of Fateh Chand does figure and Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom is narrated in future tense. However, it contains the date of 3rd Maghar, 1732 Bk two days prior to the event. Out of remaining two *hukamnamas*, one forbids the Sikhs to observe certains *kurehats* and the other contains much later date i.e. 1858 Bk or AD 1801. Karam Singh Historian appears to have consulted the *hukamnamas*.[22] However, he failed to understand its spurious character and mistakenly underlined their historical values. All these *hukamnamas* are not genuine as far the hand and style are concerned.

The sixth *hukamnama*, kept in Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran at Patiala, is written by Bhagar Ram Jhior. It contains the ascription *Ek Ankar ji sahai* (੧ ਅੰਕਾਰ ਜੀ ਸਹਾਇ) which is not found in any of the Guru's *hukamnamas*. The date 1748 Bk in the *hukamnama* is changed to 1728 Bk by skillfully making certain changes. Even the script appears to be of recent time. For the reasons one cannot accept its claim to be genuine.

Out of twelve *hukamnamas* discussed in this section, only

three *hukamnamas* appear to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur genuinely or on his behalf. These are: partially burnt *hukamnama* and two *hukamnamas* reporduced in English translation and in transliteration. However, these are categorised separately.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Herein the references to the *hukamnamas* are given in abreviated form in which 'A' stands for Shamsher Singh Ashok's book *Nishan Te Hukamname* and 'G' stands for Ganda Singh's work *Hukamname*. Thirty one *hukamnamas* are: 1. (A-20 ੲ), 2. (A-20 ੳ), 3. (A-21; G-38), 4. (A-22; G-30), 5. (A-23; G-8), 6. (A-24; G-25), 7. (A-25; G-26), 8. (A-26), 9. (A-27; G-27), 10. (A-28; G-29), 11. (A-29), 12. (A-30; G-22), 13. (A-31; G-15), 14. (A-32; G-13), 15. (A-33; G-17), 16. (A-34; G-23), 17. (A-35; G-21), 18. (A-36; G-12), 19. (A-37; G-9), 20. (A-38; G-10), 21. (A-39; G-11), 22. (A-40; G-16), 23. (A-41; G-19), 24. (A-42), 25. (A-43; G-14), 26. (A-44; G-18), 27. (A-45), 28. (A-46), 29. (A-47; G-20), 30. (A-48), 31. (G-24).
2. These *hukamnamas* are: 1. (A-20ੲ), 2. (A-20 ੳ), 3. (A-21; G-38), 4. (A-26), 5. (A-30; G-22), 6. (A-31; G-15), 7. (A-32; G-13), 8. (A-33; G-17), 9. (A-34; G-23), 10. (A-35; G-27), 11. (A-36; G-12), 12. (A-38; G-10), 13. (A-39; G-11), 14. (A-40; G-16), 15. (A-41; G-19), 16. (A-42), 17. (A-43; G-14), 18. (A-44; G-18), 19. (A-45), 20. (A-46) and 21. (G-24).
3. 1. (A-23; G-8); 2. (A-24; G-25); 3. (A-25; G-26), 4. (A-27; G-27), 5. (A-28; G-29), 6. (A-37; G-9).
4. The *hukamnamas* of Guru Hargobind are: 1. (A-5; G-2), and 2. (A-9; G-3) and that of Guru Gobind Singh's are 1. (G-35) and 2. (A-64; G-39). For *hukamnamas* of Mata Sundari, see 1. (A-95; G-68); 2. (A-100; G-73) and 3. (A-102; G-79).
5. See (A-5; G-2); (A-9; G-3) and (A-10; G-4).
6. See (A-86; G-70).
7. See (A-64; G-39) and (A-67; G-41).
8. See (A-5; G-2).
9. See (A-83), (A-84; G-54), (A-85; G-56).
10. See (A-15; G-6).
11. See (A-78; G-50); (A-79; G-52).
12. Though it has not been included in any work, yet it could not be claimed to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur.
13. See Gurbakhsh Singh, "Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal" *Decca Review*, 1915, 1916, reproduced in *The Punjab: Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, Vol. IX-1, April 1975.
14. Ved Prakash (Dr.), *The Sikhs in Bihar*, Janki Prakashan, Patna 1981, p. 69.
15. Gurbaksh Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
19. See T. P. Russel Stracey, *The History of the Muhiyals: The Militant Brahman Race of India*, Civil and Military Gazette Press Lahore, 1931.
20. Ibid., p. 26; 'Sri Guru Teg Bahadur Ji enjoins'.
21. These expressions are: *'Sarab Sangat Guru tusadi rakhega'*, *'Sangat de manorath Guru pure karega'*, *'Sangat de seva da vela hai'* and *'tun guran da poot hai'*, *'tere ooper khushi hai'* and *'guru Sangat de bohari karega'*.
22. *ਕਰਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਹਿਸਟੋਰੀਅਨ ਦੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਿਕ ਖੋਜ* (ਸੰਪਾ. ਹੀਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਰਦ), ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਰੀਸਰਚ ਬੋਰਡ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ 1964, ਪੰਨਾ 48:
"ਇਸ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ (ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਛਵਾਹੇ ਨਾਲ ਅਸਾਮ ਦੀ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ) ਵਿਚ ਫਤੇ ਚੰਦ ਨਾਮੇ ਇਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਸੀ, ਜੋ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਮੇਵੜਾ ਵੀ ਸੀ, ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਧਰਮ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਦੀ ਉਲਾਦ ਪਾਸ ਨਾਵੀਂ ਤੇ ਦਸਵੀਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਸਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕੁਝ ਕੁ ਤਾਂ ਬੜੇ ਅਮੋਲਕ ਹਨ, ਇਕ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਾਵੀਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਾਲ ਵਾਰ ਹਾਲ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਵਿਚ ਦਸਵੀਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਦੇ । ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਨਿਗਾਹ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਬੜੇ ਕੀਮਤੀ ਤੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਲਿਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਬੜੀ ਹੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਹਨ ।"

ARRANGEMENT OF *HUKAMNAMAS*

Twenty eight *hukamnamas* in all are associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur. Twenty one of them are written by the Guru himself and the remaining on his behalf. Besides three more *hukamnamas* are considered to be genuine. To arrange them in a sequence is essential to determine their value and significance. But this task is not easy. The *hukamnamas* are not dated. However, an effort would be made to arrange these *hukamnamas* in a chronological sequence as well as to determine their mutual relationship.

I

Out of twenty eight *hukamnamas*, twenty one written by the Guru himself, are addressed to four *Sangats* namely Ramdas Jagdeo, Benaras, Mirzapur and Patna. Except the first, all other *Sangats* are out of Punjab. The remaining seven *hukamnamas*, written on Guru's behalf, are addressed to two *Sangats*. The first *Sangat* is Pattan or Pak Pattan and the place of second *Sangat* is not mentioned. However, the content of *hukamnamas* addressed to the second *Sangat* appears to suggest that it was situated in the vicinity of Bakala[1]. However, three additional *hukamnamas* would be discussed separately. The *hukamnamas* would be arranged in a chronological sequence. Only then their mutual relationship, if any, can be looked into. It would help us to have an overview of the whole gamut of relations of these *hukamnamas*.

Ramdas Jagdeo *Sangat*

There are three *hukamnamas* addressed to the *Sangat* of Ramdas Jagdeo in the Majha region of the Punjab. One of them (A-20ੲ) seems to suggest the crisis that arose after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The fact has found expression in a suggestive manner. It also reflects the state of

instability as a number of claimants of Guruship seems to have been exerting their influences on Sikh *Sangats*. While acknowledging the services of Bhai Ugar Sain, a *Masand*, Guru Tegh Bahadur had expected more support in the hour of crisis[2]. The second ***hukamnama*** (A-20ੲ) contains instruction to Bhai Ugar Sain for bringing a pair of oxen. It suggests a brief absence of Guru Tegh Bahadur from Bakala. The third ***hukamnama*** (A-21; G-38) is, in fact, an acknowledgement of the second. Bhai Ugar Sain is appreciated for obeying the Guru even in his absence. Though there is a gap of some time between the first and the other two yet these ***hukamnamas*** are earliest of all to give the impression that these had been written immediately after the pontification. The sequence of these ***hukamnamas*** is as follow:

1. (A-20 ੲ)
2. (A-20 ੲ)
3. (A-21; G-38)

Patna *Sangat*

Most of the eight ***hukamnamas*** addressed to Patna *Sangat* give the names of a number of Sikhs alongwith their *Masands*[3]. A look into the sequence of the prominent Sikhs suggests that except Bhai Dedmal, the sequence of the prominent Sikhs remain almost unchanged. The place of Bhai Dedmal undergoes a change. He comes at eleventh place in one ***hukamnama*** (A-30; G-22). In five ***hukamnamas*** i.e. (A-31; G-15); (A-35; G-21); (A-34; G-23); (A-33; G-17) and (A-32; G-13) he is number eight. He occupies the seventh place in ***hukamnama*** (G-24). His position undergoes a change in the eighth ***hukamnama*** (A-36; G-12) when his name figures at number four. The change of position appears to be an index of mobility, upward or downward, and as such helps in placing the ***hukamnamas*** in sequence.

The following four groups of ***hukamnamas*** are:

I. One ***hukamnama*** (A-30; G-22)

II. Five *hukamnamas* (A-31; G-15); (A-35; G-21); (A-34; G-23); (A-33; G-17) and (A-32; G-13).

III. One *hukamnama* (G-24)

IV. One *hukamnama* (A-36; G-12)

Before looking into the sequence of *hukamnamas* of the second group, it is essential to see whether the criterion of change of position indicates upward mobility or otherwise.

On comparing *hukamnamas* of the last two groups with five *hukamnamas* of the second an impression of a gap of time is given. The *hukamnamas* of the second group indicate Guru Tegh Bahadur's travel to the east of Patna, his stay at Monghyr and other places, birth of child Gobind at Patna during his travel. On the other hand the two *hukamnamas* of group III and IV seem to indicate the last phase of Guru's journey in haste to reach Delhi. In *hukamnama* (G-24) Patna *Sangat* was instructed to send a few articles as gifts to Saiffuddin at Delhi and in (A-36; G-12) Patna *Sangat* was asked to rush to meet him during his sojourn on his way to Delhi. The Guru seems to have been pressed for little time. There are two *hukamnamas* of the second group that contain definite historical facts. The first *hukamnama* (A-35; G-21) refers to the birth of child Gobind at Patna. In the second (A-34; G-23) Patna *Sangat* is blessed for looking after the child. *Bachittra Natak* testifies that the child was born when the Guru family came to Patna from the Punjab.[4] These *hukamnamas* are earlier than the ones of group III and IV. The sequence of *hukamnamas* addressed to Patna *Sangat* represents the rise of Bhai Dedmal's status, as his place moves from 11, 8, 7 and 4.

The remaining cluster of five *hukamnamas* in group II, may be arranged with the help of internal evidences. In one *hukamnama* (A-31; G-15), written from Monghyr, (in Bihar state), the advice of Bhai Dyal Das has been sought so that Shahzadpur *Sangat* could be written to send for the *dera*. He is also asked to bring all the *Masands* of Patna *Suba* for a *darshan*. A *hukamnama* (A-40; G-16), addressed to Benaras

Sangat, indicates Guru's stay at Monghyr. Both the *hukamnamas* belong to the same period. The *hukamnama* (A-31; G-15) can be placed at the beginning.

One *hukamnama* (A-33; G-17) asks Bhai Dyal Das to bring Sikh *Sangat* to have Guru's *darshan*. It also states that the Guru's departure from Manghyr is fixed in the sixth month of luner year (*Assu*). As Bhai Dyal Das is asked to come quickly, it is evident that the *hukamnama* (A-33; G-17) is written after the *hukamnama* (A-31; G-15).

Of the remaining three *hukamnamas* two are inter-related. They have a reference to child Gobind. *Hukamnama* (A-35; G-21) mentions the birth of child Gobind; (A-34; G-23) has Guru's blessing to Patna *Sangat* for looking after the child in a befitting manner. The last *hukamnama* (A-32; G-13) has an obvious relationship with the former *hukamnama* (A-34; G-23). Patna *Sangat* has been blessed in the former for rendering service to child Gobind. It also inquires if the tents have come from some Raja, whose name does not figure. But in the last *hukamnama*, the Guru asks the Patna *Sangat* to put up his family in an appropriate and big *haveli* (mansion). These facts place it at the end of the cluster. So, the sequence of the five *hukamnamas* is:

1. (A-31; G-15)
2. (A-33; G-17)
3. (A-35; G-21)
4. (A-34; G-23)
5. (A-32; G-13)

Mirzapur *Sangat*

Only one *hukamnama* (A-47; G-20) written to Mirzapur *Sangat* is available. The *Sangat* alongwith the *Sangat* of Benaras *Suba* is under the *Masands* of Patna. The *Sangat* is advised to send the offerings to Bhai Dyal Das.

Benaras *Sangat*

Unlike Patna *Sangat*, the *hukamnamas* to Benaras *Sangat*

are difficult to put in a proper sequence. The sequence of names, as in the *hukamnamas* of Patna *Sangat*, are not constant. A number of them are in more than one *hukamnama*. A close scrutiny suggests that not all of these *hukamnamas* are written to Benaras *Sangat*. Three of them are written to the Benaras *Suba*. Hence these *hukamnamas* should be discussed separately before ascertaining their mutual relationship.

Of the nine *hukamnamas*, three written to Benaras *Suba* are (A-40; G-16), (A-43; G-11) and (A-46). The first *hukamnama* has Bhai Bhoti Seth at the second place after Bhai Javehari Mal. In the second *hukamnama*, he occupies fourth place. The third does not contain his name. Presuming that the mobility of status of Bhai Bhoti is upward, three *hukamnamas* can be placed in the following order:

1. (A-43; G-11)
2. (A-40; G-16)
3. (A-46)

The reason of placing the *hukamnama* (A-46) at the end will be discussed below.

The rest of the six *hukamnamas* addressed to Benaras *Sangat* need a separate arrangement. One (A-38; G-10) has Bhai Jawehari Mal only. The *hukamnama* constitutes group I.

The other five *hukamnamas* can be placed in two groups. The first group consists of four *hukamnamas* i.e. (A-39; G-11), (A-41; G-19), (A-45) and (A-44; G-18). The second group has only one *hukamnama* of Benaras *Suba* to form a group. Last *hukamnama* (A-42) does not contain the name of Bhai Bhoti and as such is placed in the end. Hence, the six *hukamnamas* can be placed in the following groups:

I. One *hukamnama* (A-38; G-10)

II. Four *hukamnamas* (A-39; G-11) (A-41; G-19), (A-45), (A-44; G-18)

III. One *hukamnama* (A-42)

In order to decide the relative positions of these groups vis-a-vis the *hukamnamas* of Benaras *Suba*, the status of certain Sikhs in the *hukamnamas* are significant. The *hukamnama* of last group (A-42) appears to be related to the *hukamnama* (A-46) of Benaras *Suba* as both do not contain the name of Bhai Bhoti. It is also corroborated by the fact that Bhai Babu/Babu Rai's name falls at fourth place in both the *hukamnamas*. Also, the *hukamnama* (A-42) has a direct and obvious relationship with the *hukamnama* (A-45) of the group II. At the end of the group *hukamnama* (A-45), addressed to the *Suba* of Benaras, can be placed. So the sequence of last three *hukamnamas* would be as under:

(A-45)	7
(A-42)	8
(A-46) Benaras *Suba*	9

Out of the remaining four, three *hukamnamas* of group II and *hukamnama* (A-40; G-16) addressed to Benaras *Suba* contain Bhai Kalyan Mal's name at fifth place before *hukamnama* (A-45) of group II as it contains Bhai Kalyan Mal's name at fourth place.

Another *hukamnama* (A-41; G-19) of group II can be placed at sixth position in the sequence as the name of Bhai Bhoti comes at third place whereas in the *hukamnama* (A-45), it comes at second place.

However, this *hukamnama* (A-41; G-19) of group II can be placed after *hukamnama* (A-43; G-14) addressed to Benaras *Suba* as the status of Bhai Bhoti undergoes a rise. Hence that sequence of last seven out of ten *hukamnamas* would be as under:

(A-43; G-14) Benaras *Suba*	3
(A-44; G-18)	4
(A-41; G-19)	5
(A-40; G-16) Benaras *Suba*	6
(A-45)	7

(A-42) 8

(A-46) Benaras *Suba* 9

One *hukamnama* (A-38; G-10) out of remaining two *hukamnamas* contain the name of Bhai Javehri Mal only. However, its content helps us to determine its relative position. In the *hukamnama*, the *Sangat* of Benaras has been advised to attend to Sridhar, the horse, and to send it to Patna when it is fully restored. It appears to have been written just after reaching Patna from Benaras and as such it can be placed at the first place. The remaining *hukamnama* (A-39; G-11) is from group II. *Hukamnamas* (A-39; G-11) and (A-43; G-14) indicate the elevation of status of Bhai Bhoti. In the former *hukamnama* (A-39; G-11) Bhai Bhoti is at sixth place and in the latter (A-43; G-14), his name figures at fourth position. Hence, the first *hukamnama* appears to have been written before the second one. Three *hukamnamas* can be arranged as under :

(A-38; G-10) 1

(A-39; G-11) 2

(A-43; G-14) Benaras *Suba* 3

The sequence of all the *hukamnamas* of Benaras *Sangat* is as follow:

1. (A-38; G-10)
2. (A-39; G-11)
3. (A-43; G-14) Benaras *Suba*
4. (A-44; G-18)
5. (A-41; G-19)
6. (A-40; G-16) Benaras *Suba*
7. (A-45)
8. (A-42)
9. (A-46) Benaras *Suba*

Pattan *Sangat*

There are seven *hukamnamas*, written on the instructions

of Guru Tegh Bahadur and were endorsed on his behalf. Out of them six *hukamnamas* are written to the *Sangat* of Pattan and one to a *Sangat* presumably in the Majha region whose name has not been stated. These six *hukamnamas* are addressed to Bhai Batha. He is said to be the beloved Sikh or son of the Guru. Almost all the *hukamnamas* contain the instruction to bring the *Sangat* of Pattan for *darshan*. The *Sangat* has been asked to obey Bhai Batha. In order to determine the sequence of these *hukamnamas*, the content provides some help. In the *hukamnama* (A-28; G-29) both the scribe and the endorser underlines the fact that it is the time for the Sikhs to render their services. The other four *hukamnamas* do not speak of this fact. But the emphasis on the Sikhs to obey Bhai Batha indicates that the crisis of Guruship has not been fully resolved.

Hence the *hukamnama* (A-28; G-29) can be placed earlier succeeded by the other five *hukamnamas*. All these *hukamnamas* seem to have been written in the earlier period of the pontification of the Guru. This fact can be obliquely corroborated as Bhai Batha was the person who is mentioned to have gone to Guru Harkrishan to hand over the offerings. The prominent *Masands* and Sikhs at that time was Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga, Bhai Hajoori and Bhai Nehchal.[5] But after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur the status of Bhai Batha appears to have undergone a change. The five *hukamnamas* could not be arranged in a sequence for lack of internal evidence. However, they seem to have been written during a short period of time immediately after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

I (A-28; G-29)

II (A-23; G-8)

(A-24; G-25)

(A-25; G-26)

(A-26)

(A-27; G-27)

A *Sangat* in *Majha* region

As discussed above one of the *hukamnama* (A-22; G-30) is addressed to Bhai Malla and Bhai Bagha, but it does not contain the name of the *Sangat*. The *hukamnama* contains the name of village Dhardev, Jamalpur and Bakala. All the places are in the vicinity of Bakala.

Three Additional *hukamnamas*

The *hukamnama* addressed to Bhai Lakhya and others is one of the earliest *hukamnamas* like the *hukamnama* (A-20ੲ) addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain because it also has the name of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The other two *hukamnamas* contain only the expression 'Sri Guru Jeo'. The *hukamnama* addressed to Bhai Lakhya is incomplete and does not specify the purpose. However, the Muhiyals believe that "the purpose of this edict was to exhort in befitting terms Bhai Lakhya to join the service of the Guru." Bhai Lakhya had died before this call could reach him. Dewan Mati Das and his son presented themselves before the Guru and received charge of the finances.[6] *Bansawalinama* states that after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur, Dargah Mal offered the services of Mati Das and Sati Das to the Guru.[7] From the *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh in the possession of Chhibar family it is learnt that Bhai Lakhya belonged to Kariyala *Sangat*.[8] The *hukamnama* not only underlines the contest, its magnitude for the pontification but also Guru Tegh Bahadur had to look for loyal Sikhs.

There is a partially burnt *hukamnama* addressed to Patna *Sangat*. It suggests that many *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur have not survived. It finds support from ensuing discussion of mutual relationship of the *hukamnamas* of Patna and Benaras *Sangat*. The remarkable point of the *hukamnama* is that it has three additional new names to the sixteen of the earlier collections. The *hukamnama* appears to belong to the hypothetical construction in the ensuing section.

The third *hukamnama* reproduced by G.B. Singh is written on behalf of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Bhais Bhag Mal, Chhabil

Das, Saddhri Mal and Nathor Mal. It is stated to have been written from Patna to a *Sangat* at Decca.[9] As suggested elsewhere, the *hukamnama* appears to have been written sometimes between his arrival at and short absence from Patna. Ved Prakash also believes that "if ever this letter was written from Patna, it must have been done so before the Guru's departure for the east."[10] The *hukamnama* indicates Guru's connection with the *Sangats* of eastern India. Consequently, Guru's visit to Decca can not be ruled out.

II

The *hukamnamas* written to Patna and Benaras *Sangats* are mutually related. It is because all these *hukamnamas* belong to the same period. The *hukamnama* (A-40; G-16) of the Benaras *Suba* and *hukamnama* (A-31; G-15) have obvious connection because they are written from Monghyr as the content of both the *hukamnamas* suggests. On the basis of this connection, the sequence of *hukamnamas* belonging to both the *Sangats* can be conjecturally placed as follow:

	Benaras		Patna
I	(A-38; G-10)		-
II	(A-39; G-11)		-
	(A-43; G-14)		-
	(A-44; G-18)		-
	(A-41; G-19)		(A-30; G-22)
	(A-40; G-16)	⟷	(A-31; G-15)
	(A-45)		(A-33; G-17)
	(A-42)		(A-35; G-21)
	(A-46)		(A-34; G-23)
	-		(A-32; G-13)
III	-		(G-24)
	-		(A-36; G-12)

The *hukamnamas* written both to Benaras and Patna

Sangats can be placed in three hypothetical sections. The first section contains only one *hukamnama* (A-38; G-10) written from Patna and addressed to Benaras *Sangat*. It is an archival evidence of Guru's visit to Patna. The last two *hukamnamas* in the list i.e. (G-24) and (A-36; G-12) can be placed in the third section because these were written on his return journey from eastern India to Delhi. These *hukamnamas* suggest that Guru Tegh Bahadur did not go to Patna where his family was residing. In contrast to the *hukamnama* of the first section, the *hukamnamas* of the third section belong to Patna *Sangat*. The remaining *hukamnamas* are addressed to both the *Sangats*. These *hukamnamas* appear to have been written by the Guru during his itinerary to eastern India. This categorisation of *hukamnamas* suggests an obvious gap of time. It also suggests that the *hukamnamas*, though a few in number yet cover a long period of time. The sequential placing of the *hukamnamas* of both the *Sangats* indicates gaps suggesting that numerous *hukamnamas* have not reached us.

III

The arrangement of *hukamnamas* in a sequence is meaningful only if it is viewed in its entirety in order to see the period covered by them. The *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur are not dated; it is essential to ascertain their period. Internal evidence come to our rescue in this regard. It would help us to understand their evidence in a better perspective.

On the basis of internal evidence, the *hukamnamas* can be classified into four broad categories. The first category of *hukamnamas* are directed to be written by Guru Tegh Bahadur himself. They belong to the period just after the Guru's pontification. The *hukamnamas* are addressed to *Sangat* Ramdas Jagdeo. The situation was not normal. The rival claims to Guruship led to hostility in the Sikh *Sangats*. In *hukamnamas* there appears to be an effort to handle the situation by persuation.[11] In one *hukamnama* (A-20ੲ) Bhai Ugar Sain is stated to be the leading *Masand*. Ramdas Gurditta, Bhai Guriya

and Bhai Kalyan Das are summoned. It is hoped that the wise and loyal *Masand* would respond favourably.

Six *hukamnamas* written to Pattan *Sangat* on behalf of the Guru belong to second category. One more *hukamnama* (A-22; G-30) belongs to this category. It is written to a *Sangat* in the vicinity of Bakala. These *hukamnamas* written by a scribe and were endorsed by someone on behalf of the Guru. Except these seven *hukamnamas*, all the other *hukamnamas* are written entirely by the Guru in his own hand. These *hukamnamas* are twenty two in number. It is obvious that Guru Tegh Bahadur used to write the letters himself. The letters written on his behalf indicate his absence from Bakala. When the *hukamnamas* were written, Guru Tegh Bahadur's absence was not to be long as the *Masands* are asked to bring Sikh congregations for Guru's *darshan* on the occasion of Diwali festival. Opposition of the Guru has not fully subsided. Bhai Batha is still stated to be the son of the Guru and his words are the orders of the Guru. The Sikh *Sangat* is advised to be faithful.[12]

About six *hukamnamas* of the second category, Dr. Fauja Singh has a different assumption. He is of the opinion that these *hukamnamas* "which are addressed to the congregation of Pattan and its chief functionary, Bhai Batha, in all probability belong to the years 1671 to 1675",[13] or the last phase of Guru Tegh Bahadur's life.

His assumption is based on the fact that "from middle of 1673 to the end of 1674, the Guru was away in the Malwa and Bangar Desh, busy meeting his devoted people and delivering to them his message of courage and hope."[14] The scholar's assumption is based on the *Bhatt Vahis*. According to *Bhatt Vahis* Guru Tegh Bahadur was away in the Malwa and Bangar Desh. As the *hukamnamas* also suggest the Guru's absence from Bakala, it is assumed that these *hukamnamas* were written during this period. However, the internal evidence is not taken care of. In fact the *hukamnamas* appear to underline the office of *Masand*. The Sikhs are advised to be obedient. These also suggest that the *Sangat* of Pattan is *Khalsa* or directly under

the supervision of the Guru. As the latter *hukamnamas* do not emphasise this point, it is obvious that these were written during the crisis of Guruship.

The third set of nineteen *hukamnamas* are written during the eastern intineray of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Seventeen out of them pertain to third category. These *hukamnamas* belong to Patna, Benaras and Mirzapur *Sangats*. As their sequence and mutual relationship suggest, these cover a long period of time.

There are two *hukamnamas* (G-24) and (A-36; G-12) that can be placed in the last category. As discussed above the *hukamnamas* belong to last period when Guru Tegh Bahadur had to rush to Delhi without meeting his family. Even the passage of time between the third and last categories of *hukamnamas* is quite long.

Thus last two categories of *hukamnamas* become all the more significant in further research about Guru Tegh Bahadur's activities in the eastern India. According to Dr. Fauja Singh all the *hukamnamas* were written to Patna, Benaras and Mizapur *Sangats* during a period of one year i.e. from 1667-1668.[15] But the above study does not support this conclusion. On the contrary, the period of Guru Tegh Bahadur's stay and organizational activities seems to be pretty long.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See *hukamnama* (A-22; G-30).
2. "...ਸਿਖਾਂ ਕੇ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ..."
3. Two of the *hukamnamas*, i.e. (A-30; G-22) and (A-35; G-21) contain names of more than sixty Sikhs.
4. ਮੁਰ ਪਿਤ ਪੂਰਬ ਕੀਯਸਿ ਪਯਾਨਾ ।
   ਭਾਂਤਿ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਕੇ ਤੀਰਥਿ ਨਾਨਾ ।
   ਜਬ ਹੀ ਜਾਤ ਤ੍ਰਿਬੇਣੀ ਭਏ ।
   ਪੁਨ ਦਾਨ ਦਿਨ ਕਰਤ ਬਿਤਏ ।
   ਤਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਭਯੋ ।
   ਪਟਨਾ ਸਹਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਭਵ ਲਯੋ ।
   Dasam Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Bhai Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh & Sons, Amritsar, 1956, p. 59.
5. "ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਹਰਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ

ਅਟੀ ਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਜਸੁ ਭਾਈ ਰੰਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਹਜੂਰੀ
ਭਾਈ ਨਿਹਚਲੁ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਤੁਸਾ
ਭੇਟ ਭਾਈ ਬਠੇ ਹਥਿ ਭੇਜੀ ਸੀ ਸੋ ਪਹੁਤੀ
ਹਜੂਰਿ ਮੁਜਰਾ ਹੋਆ ... (A-15; G-6)

6. *The History of the Muhiyals*, p. 26.
7. Kesar Singh Chhibber, *Bansawalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka*, (Parakh, Vol. 2) Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1972, p. 84.
8. Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'Some Unknown *Hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh', *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, 13th Session, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1979, p.104.
9. Gurbaksh Singh, "Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal", p. 89.
10. Ved Prakash, *The Sikhs in Bihar*, p.69.
11. See *hukamnamas* (A-20ੲ) and (A-20ਸ).
12. "ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਪੁਤੁ ਹੈ ਆਖੇ
ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਕਰਕੇ
ਮੰਨਣਾ ..." (A-27; G-27)
13. Fauja Singh, *Hukamnamas: Shri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p. 35.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

EVIDENCE OF *HUKAMNAMAS*

Hukamnamas are significant source of history. They throw light on the life and activities of the Gurus, on the institution of Sikh *Sangat* and the socio-religious life of the Sikhs. They also contain implicitly a few references to historical incidents. A historical insight from information helps us to reinterpret the existing evidence in a new perspective to give a better understanding on a few key issues.

As discussed above *hukamnamas* cover almost entire period of Guru Tegh Bahadur's pontificate and are classified into three periods. First period starts just after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur in the year 1664. The eastern itinerary of the Guru constitutes the second period. Last period, represented only by two *hukamnamas*, marks the end of Guru Tegh Bahadur's activities in the east. Guru Tegh Bahadur arrived Delhi in 1670.[1] The execution of the Guru took place in 1675. So the evidence of *hukamnamas* refers almost to the entire period of Guru's pontificate.

The major issue in the life of Guru Tegh Bahadur was to shoulder the responsibilities of Guruship. *Gurmukhi* sources are unanimous that Guru Harkrishan, the eighth Guru, passed away at Delhi without mentioning the name of his successor. His last words were *'Baba Bakala'* indicating that the true successor of the Guru was at Baba Bakala. The Sikh tradition also entrusts on Makhan Shah, a trader, the responsibility of declaring Guru Tegh Bahadur, the true Guru out of twenty two claimants.[2] In this connection, the evidence provided by *hukamnamas* is clear and firm.

Out of the early *hukamnamas*, six are written on the instructions of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Bhai Batha, the *Masand* of Pattan *Sangat*.[3] There is also a *hukamnama* whose text

suggests that it was written on the instruction of Guru Harkrishan to Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga, Bhai Hazuri and Bhai Nehchal, the *Masands* and prominent Sikhs of Pattan *Sangat*. It contains the name of Bhai Batha, a Sikh who conveys personally the offering of the *Sangat* to the Guru.[4] As both the *hukamnamas* have the name of Bhai Batha, their connection cannot be denied. The significant fact to be noted in these *hukamnamas* is their common scribe (or calligraphist). The fact underlines the institutional character of *hukamnama*, and points out that after the demise of Guru Harkrishan, his office continued to work under Guru Tegh Bahadur. The *hukamnama* clearly underlines the legitimacy of Guru Tegh Bahadur's pontification. Another *hukamnama* by the same scribe opens with the name of Guru Tegh Bahadur like "This is Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur's commandment to Bhai Ugar Sain."[5] Another *hukamnama* addressed to Bhai Lakhya and others mentions Guru Tegh Bahadur. However, the remaining *hukamnamas* contain the word 'Guru' only.

Hukamnamas help us in understanding how Guru Tegh Bahadur asserted his authority as a Guru. During the crisis within the Sikh *Panth*, Guru Tegh Bahadur elevated Bhai Batha to the status of *Masand* of Pattan *Sangat*. Bhai Batha was messenger at the time of Guru Harkrishan, whereas Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga, Bhai Hazuri and Bhai Nehchal were *Masands* and prominent Sikhs. These Sikhs do not figure again in the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Absence of their names and the elevation of Bhai Batha's status indicate the crisis in the Sikh *Sangat* that was sorted out by the Guru. Equally early *hukamnamas* suggest that Guru Tegh Bahadur organised Sikh *Sangat* with the help of loyal Sikhs and *Masands*. The crisis was two-fold. On the one hand, some *Masands* were not loyal to the Guru on the other, a number of Sikhs were in a state of confusion in the face of violent propaganda by the claimants. Besides, appointing new *Masands*, the Guru also won over a few prominent Sikhs.

In this connection *hukamnama* (A-20ੲ) provides

significant evidence. While writing to Bhai Ugar Sain, the *Masand* of Ramdas, Guru Tegh Bahadur summons Bhai Gurditta, Bhai Guriya and Bhai Kalyan Das. As soon as they come, it is further stated, the entire fact would be known. Obviously, it indicates Guru's personal effort to handle the situation. Loyal *Masands* were also taken into confidence. A few Sikhs did not appear to be satisfied with the arrangement. In the case of Bhai Batha, the Guru tried to strengthen his authority by calling Bhai Batha his son. In a *hukamnama* Sikhs are also blessed to be his sons. The Sikh *Sangat* is asked to obey Bhai Batha's injunctions. Most of the *hukamnamas* underline the authority of the *Masand.* They not only suggest that the inner dissension of Sikh *Panth* as a result of the crisis of Guruship was of great magnitude but also conveys that the crisis did not subside immediately in spite of Guru's best efforts.

The evidence of *hukamnamas* are all the more insightful if they are interpreted in the light of evidences provided by the writings of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The major features of Guru's *bani* is its 'extreme simplicity' with repeated references to a few mythological stories and the elemental vision of man. Mythological story appeals to a person of average intellect. The repeated references to a select number of mythological stories not only corroborates the above mentioned fact but also suggests that sizable number of Guru's Sikhs were newly initiated. The neo-Sikhs were unsophisticated and were not fully aware of the intricacies of the idiom of Sikh doctrine. The simplicity and elemental vision of the composition are adequate to bring home the elementary spiritual mysteries to the unsophisticated newly initiated.[6] *Hukamnamas* written to Patna and Beanaras *Sangats* significantly support the insights of the *bani.* They contain names of sufficient number of local Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur maintained close contact with them by paying them visits a number of times.

Hukamnamas of Patna and Benaras *Sangats* emphasise much on 'means of livelihood' (ਰੋਜ਼ਗਾਰ) whereas it is stressed less in the earlier *hukamnamas* to various *Sangats* in the Punjab.

Another significant point is that these *hukamnamas* are in Guru's own hand. Two *hukamnamas* addressed to Patna *Sangat* contain names of more than sixty Sikhs.[7] There is an apparent shift of the Guru's approach in these *hukamnamas*. Unlike earlier *hukamnamas* written to various *Sangats* in Punjab, these are not only addressed to a *Masand* and a few prominent Sikhs but are addressed to a large number of local Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur is not only dealing with the *Sangats* of various areas as a unit, but also with individual Sikhs, however humble they may be. Interestingly the Sikhs of Patna congregation also include the name of an elderly Sikh lady, Bebe Peri Bai. The relation of individual with the unit and also with the entire fabric of the Sikh *Panth* is significant. In this connection, the organization of *Sangats* of the region as reflected in these *hukamnamas* needs a fresh look.

A *hukamnama* of Guru Hargobind is addressed to more than one *Sangat* i.e. *Sangat* of Patna, Alamganj, Sherpur, Bane and Monghyr.[8] Another *hukamnama* is addressed to all the *Sangats* of eastern region.[9] It is obvious that a number of *Sangats* in the region formed a cluster. However, they are lacking in any organizational arrangement. The succeeding Gurus appear to be concerned more about each *Sangat*.[10] During the pontificate of Guru Tegh Bahadur a well-organized hierarchy of *Sangats* came into being. All the *Sangats* in a region were under the regional authority of a *Masand*. The region was divided into *Subas*. The *Masand* was incharge of a *Suba*. Similarly, a *Suba* was constituted of *Sangats* of various towns. In eastern region, there were two *Subas* i.e. *Suba* of Benaras and *Suba* of Patna. The *Sangats* of Benaras city and Mirzapur were under Benaras *Suba*, the *Sangats* of Patna city and Monghyr, under Patna *Suba*.[11] Bhai Javehari Mal was incharge of Benaras *Suba*. Similarly, Bhai Dayal Das *Masand* of Patna *Sangat* was incharge of Patna *Suba*. Both the *Subas* of eastern region were under Bhai Dyal Das. One *hukamnama* (A-41; G-19) written to the *Sangat* of Benaras opens with the name of Bhai Dayal Das, the chief *Masand* of eastern region, followed

by Javehari Mal and others.[12] The hierarchy of power reflected in the *hukamnamas* culminates in the authority of the Guru. The hierarchy is asserted time and again. In *hukamnama* (A-39; G-11), the *Sangat* of Benaras is instructed to entrust their offerings to Bhai Javehari. It is the duty of Bhai Javehari to send it to Bhai Dayal Das who then transfers it to the Guru.[13] Guru Tegh Bahadur also maintained personal relation with various *Sangats* by regularly visiting them and by patronizing *Masands* with robes of honour. In a *hukamnama* (A-31; G-12) Guru requisitioned two scores of turbans of Bihar apparently in order to honour the *Masands* and the prominent Sikhs. Bhai Dyal Das was presented with a robe of honour (*siropao*) in recognition of the services rendered by him.[14] The Sikhs were summoned to have Guru's *darshan* on special occasions. The names of a large number of Sikhs in the *hukamnamas* suggest that they were in personal contact with the Guru.

The emerging organizational set up of Sikh *Sangats* helps us to understand the changes that were taking place in the Sikh *Panth*. In the earlier *hukamnamas*, a *Masand* and a few prominent Sikhs are the addressees. Their loyalties are lauded. There was no network of relations between different Sikh congregations. They did not seem to have an organization and well-marked hierarchy. But the *hukamnamas* related to the congregations of eastern region present a clear picture. Not the loyalty of a good number of local Sikhs is sought, the Sikhs are organised in a definite hierarchy. Even the advice of the *Sangat* was ought and honoured on number of occasions.[15]

The evidence of *hukamnamas* suggests that Guru Tegh Bahadur did not come to Bihar for a short period of time. From one of his *hukamnamas* which was written sometime after coming to Bihar, the Guru expresses his concern about the accommodation for his family. The Guru writes Bhai Dayal Das "lodge our family in a nice and large *haveli*." [16] In the *hukamnama* the Guru mentions that he is going with the Raja (Raja Ram Singh[17]) leaving his family at Patna. The Guru's prolonged stay in the eastern region of India is also seen in

other two *hukamnamas*. *Hukamnamas* (A-32; G-13) and (A-36; G-12) refer to the Raja. The two are meant for two separate groups indicating a gap of time. The first *hukamnama* is written in 1666 as it refers to the birth of child Gobind. The second *hukamnama* belongs to the section of *hukamnamas* that represent last period of Guru's presence in the east. In the *hukamnama*, the Guru informs the Patna congregation that he was accompanying the Raja to Delhi. The Guru did not return to Patna. He reached Delhi in 1670. It is obvious that the Guru remained in the eastern part of India for a considerable period of time. *Hukamnamas* give an idea of the Guru's activities. A reference to the Raja in the *hukamnamas* and a passage of time in between them suggest the possibilities of two journeys further east. The *Gurmukhi* sources, though vague and intricate, help us in this connection. Though they describe the Guru's eastern travel as one, yet they are divided on the point of return journey. According to *Gurbailas* tradition Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Delhi alongwith the Raja without meeting his family. But Sarup Das Bhalla and Bhai Santokh Singh state that the Guru visited his family before going to Delhi.[18] It finds further support from the *hukamnama* addressed to a *Sangat* at Decca. On both the occasions he was accompanying the Raja. Hence there emerges a much more detailed picture of Guru's activities in the eastern India.

A number of *hukamnamas* speak of things demanded by the Guru from the congregation. In a *hukamnama* (A-34; G-23), addressed to the congregation of Patna, Guru Tegh Bahadur asks for tents of different varieties. Five crates of vassals produced at Minapore containing *albele*, long-necked pitchers, goblets of superior quality in the *hukamnama* (G-24). Other things wanted by the Guru: One hundred yards of unbleached cloth (coarse); six pieces of coarse homespun cotton cloth (*kharve reje*): ten seer of *tanawa* and ten seer of *nawar*; two scores of turbans of Bihar. It is further mentioned that the turban should cost Rs. 40 a score. Dr. Ved Parkash is of the opinion that "the people had possession of, or were dealing in the various

goods, that were requisitioned from them" as most of the Sikhs were associated with trade. Things figured in the documents also suggest the specialised manufactures of places in Bihar. The scholar is of the opinion that not only the Guru had a deep knowledge of the specialised products of different place in Bihar, but also of their prices at the time.[19] This leads us to conclude that Guru Tegh Bahadur's stay in the east during which the *hukamnamas* were written was quite long.

In the long period of his stay the Guru organised the Sikh *Sangats* in a planned manner. In a *hukamnama* (A-35; G-21) the Guru is stated to have sent a robe of honour (*siropao*) to Bhai Dyal Das in recognition to his services. The Guru wanted two scores of turbans to honour the *Masands* and the prominent Sikhs. There is an economic dimension as well. A turban costs two rupees which is quite expensive if it is compared with the price of gold. From one of Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnama*, we come to know that the price of one and a quarter tola of gold was nineteen and a quarter rupees.[19] Presentation of turban of such a high price to the *Masand* and the prominent Sikhs not only suggests their prominent status but also suggests that some Sikhs in the congregation were prosperous.

Guru Tegh Bahadur had a warm and cordial relations with Nawab Saif Khan.[20] One of the *hukamnama* contains instruction to Patna *Sangat* to send a few items to Delhi as these are meant to be presented to the Nawab. These things are specialised domestic products of the region. The *hukamnama* mentions Kalyane Di Dharamshala where these items were to be dispatched.

The Sikh congregation was closely connected with social life of the community. On every religious and social occasions in the Sikh family the offering to the congregation was mandatory. In one of the *hukamnamas*, Guru Tegh Bahadur asked Bhai Dyal Das to send money received for performing the engagement of Dharma.[21] The major source of income of the congregation was contribution of the Sikhs. It was mandatory

for a Sikh to contribute to the *Sangat* a part of the earning. The mandatory offering was known as *kar* or *karbar*. Gifts and presents (*bhet*), and the donation made on fulfillment of desire (*mannat*) were other means. In the *hukamnama* (A-44; G-18), the Guru instructed Bhai Dyal Das to send the amount collected from all these means. There is no reference to the precise amount of offering. In a *hukamnama* (A-41; G-19) to the *Sangats* of Benaras the Guru said to have received an amount of rupees one hundred and sixty six.

The Guru undertook hectic activities to organise Sikh congregations in the eastern region of India. His missionary acumen, organisational zeal and farsightedness are remarkable. His missionary activities coupled with his cordial relations with Raja Ram Singh and Saif Khan need to be seen in a broader perspective.

The compositions of the ninth Guru have a simplicity of expression. There is a sense of indifference to worldly affairs and a growing feeling of unreliability of human relations. However close they may be wife, friends and others seek but their own comfort.[21] The poetry embodies an elemental vision of man which speaks of crisis of the Sikh *Panth*. The predominance of the image of death and the helplessness of man alludes to a future. At a later period eventuality of martyrdom is suggested in the compositions.

That the elemental vision of the compositions is significant. "Guru Tegh Bahadur's elemental vision is the foundation of his religious sensibility, thought and ideology. This very vision gave him clarity in grasping the political situation of the *Panth*".[23] But the grasp of political situation by the Guru and his organisational activities to meet the challenge should not be under-estimated. The elemental vision underlies a sense of determinism and a tone of pessimism. But a careful study of the compositions suggests a resolute theological message with an implicit faith in the future. The Guru says, "One should only worry over what is unusual. The worldly life, in fact, is

evanescent."[24] For him, the fundamental religious concerns are move significant. Those who contemplate on *nam* are eternal.[25]

Thus, the ***hukamnamas*** of Guru Tegh Bahadur open a new vista of his organisational genius and foresight. The Guru set up a network of relations between different Sikh *Sangats* under his authority. The *Sangats* of eastern region not only served the *Panth* under Guru Tegh Bahadur but also became the backbone of the *Panth* which is evident from the *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Fauja Singh and Gurbachan Singh Talib, *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Martyr and Teacher*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1975, p. 62.
2. Sabinderjit Singh Sagar, "Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji De Jiwan Samabandhi Atharvin Sadi De Gurmukhi Somey", *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Jiwan Te Sirjana*, New Age Book Centre, Amritsar 1976, pp. 94-115.
3. These ***hukamnamas*** are (A-28; G-29), (A-24; G-25), (A-23; G-8), (A-25; G-26) and (A-26).
4. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Hukamname*, Punjabi University, Patiala 1967, *hukamnama* No. 6.
5. Shamsher Singh Ashok (ed.), *Nishan Te Hukamname*, S.G.P.C, Amritsar 1967, *hukamnama* No. 20.
6. Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature*, ABS Publications, Jalandhar, 1988, pp. 222-225.
7. See *hukamnamas* (A-30; G-22) and (A-32; G-13).
8. See *hukamnama* No. 2 in Ganda Singh, *Hukamname*.
9. See *hukamnama* No. 2, *Ibid*.
10. The *hukamnama* (A-15; G-6) is written by Guru Harkrishan to an individual *Sangat* (Pattan *Sangat*).
11. For Benaras *Suba*, see *hukamnamas* (A-47; G-20), (A-43; G-14), (A-44; G-18) and (A-46). Monghyr *Sangat* appears to be under Patna *Suba*, see *hukamnamas* (A-31; G-15) and (A-40; G-16).
12. "ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ, ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮ ਰਾਇ, ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ, ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਦਾਸ, ਭਾਈ ਭੋਤੀ..." (A-41; G-19)
13. "ਕਾਰੋਬਾਰ ਲੋਚ ਕੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਨੋ ਦੇਣੀ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਪਹੁਚਾਵੇਗਾ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੇਗੀ ..." (A-31; G-15)
14. See *hukamnama* (A-35; G-21).
15. "...ਅਉਰ ਭਾਈ ਜੀ ਸਹਜਾਦਪੁਰ ਕੋ ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ ਖੇਮੇ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਚਾਹਤੇ ਹਹ ਜਿਉ ਤੁਮ ਕਹਿ ਭੇਜਹ ਤਿਓ ਹਮ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਵਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੋ ਲਿਖਹ..." (A-31; G-15)
16. "ਕੋਈ ਅਵਲ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਮੋ ਕਬੀਲੇ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਰਖਣੈ..." (A-32; G-13)

17. Raja Ram Singh Kachhwaha was the son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber. Kachhwaha family is said to have cordial relations with the Gurus. Guru Harkrishan is believed to have stayed with the family on his visit to Delhi. The Kachhwaha family was also visited by Guru Tegh Bahadur on a number of occasions. Raja Ram Singh was appointed Mansabdar of the rank of 3000 zat in the year 1658-59. As a result of Shivaji's escape from Mughal prison Raja Ram Singh was held responsible because the surveillance of Shivaji was under his supervision. Raja Ram Singh was removed from Mansabdari and was sent on Assam expedition. Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied him. At that time the Mughal State was hostile to the Sikh Guru. The task of keeping an eye on the movements of Guru Tegh Bahadur was given to Raja Ram Singh.
See, Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, Jadu Nath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, Teja Singh Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*.
18. Sabinderjit Singh Sagar, "Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji Dian Yatrawan", *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Jiwan te Sirjana*, p. 35 fn. 26.
19. Ved Prakash, *The Sikhs in Bihar*, p. 140 and 143.
20. Saif Khan was a Mansabdar of 4000 rank in the service of the Mughal State. He was the son of Nawab Tarbiyat Khan. His full name was Saifuddin Muhammad. A scholar and a poet, he wrote a book on music entitled "Rag Darpan". He remained Subedar of Allahabad (1631, 1669, 1680), Agra (1656), Kashmir (1665), Deccan (?) and Bihar (1675). He founded Saifabad a fort named after him which is now known as Bahadurgarh (near Patiala).
See, Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*; S.N. Sinha, *The Suba of Allahabad; Muasir-i-Alamgiri*; and Fauja Singh, *Patiala and its Historical Surroundings*.
21. See *hukamnama* (G-24).
22. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 633:
ਇਹ ਜਗਿ ਮੀਤੁ ਨ ਦੇਖਿਓ ਕੋਈ ।
ਸਗਲ ਜਗਤੁ ਅਪਨੈ ਸੁਖਿ ਲਾਗਿਓ
ਦੁਖ ਮੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥ ੧ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥
ਦਾਰਾ ਮੀਤ ਪੂਤ ਸਨਬੰਧੀ
ਸਗਰੇ ਧਨ ਸਿਉ ਲਾਗੇ ॥
ਜਬ ਹੀ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿਓ ਨਰ ਕਉ
ਸੰਗੁ ਛਾਡਿ ਸਭ ਭਾਗੇ ॥
23. Surjit Hans, *Op. cit.*, p. 227.
24. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 1428:
ਚਿੰਤਾ ਤਾਕੀ ਕੀਜੀਐ ਜੋ ਅਨਹੋਨੀ ਹੋਇ ॥
ਇਹੁ ਮਾਰਗੁ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਕੋ ਨਾਨਕ ਥਿਰੁ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਇ ॥੫੧॥
25. *Ibid*, p. 1429:
ਨਾਮੁ ਰਹਿਓ ਸਾਧੂ ਰਹਿਓ ਰਹਿਓ ਗੁਰੁ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਹ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਕਿਨ ਜਪਿਓ ਗੁਰਮੰਤੁ ॥੫੬॥

FACSIMILES OF *HUKAMNAMAS* AND THEIR TEXT

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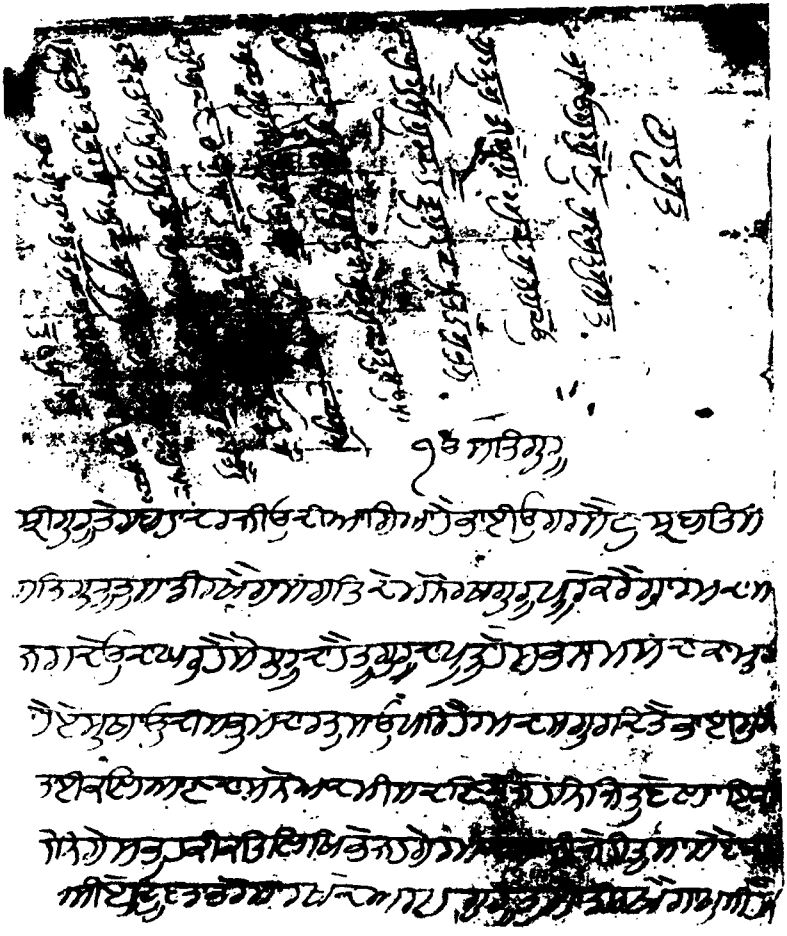

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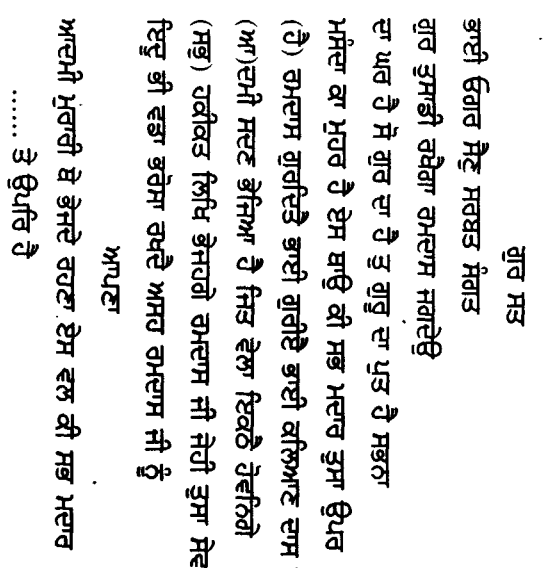
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(ਆ)ਦਮੀ ਸਦਣ ਭੇਜਿਆ ਹੈ ਜਿਤ ਵੇਲਾ ਇਕਠੇ ਹੋਵਨਿਗੇ
(ਸਭੁ) ਹਕੀਕਤ ਲਿਖਿ ਭੇਜਹਗੇ ਰਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਜੇਹੀ ਤੁਸਾ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ
ਇਦੂ ਭੀ ਵਡਾ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਰਖਦੇ ਅਸਹ ਰਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ
ਅਖਰਾ
ਆਦਮੀ ਮੁਰਾਦੀ ਥੇ ਭੇਜਦੇ ਰਹਣਾ ਏਸ ਵਲ ਕੀ ਸਭ ਮਦਾਰ
..... ਤੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਹੈ

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਉਗਰ ਸੇਣੂ ਸ੍ਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ
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(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)

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ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹੈ ਮੇਰੀ ਰਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ
ਕੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਬਹੁਤ ਖੁਸੀ ਹੈ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ
ਰਮਦਾਸ ਉਗਰ ਸੇਣ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲ ਚੰਦ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤ
ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਕਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਲੇ ਕੇ ਜੋੜਾ ਜੁਡਾਵਲ ਕਾਛਿਆ
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(ਸੰਗਤ) ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਰਮਦਾ(ਸ)

(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)
(A-20ਸ)

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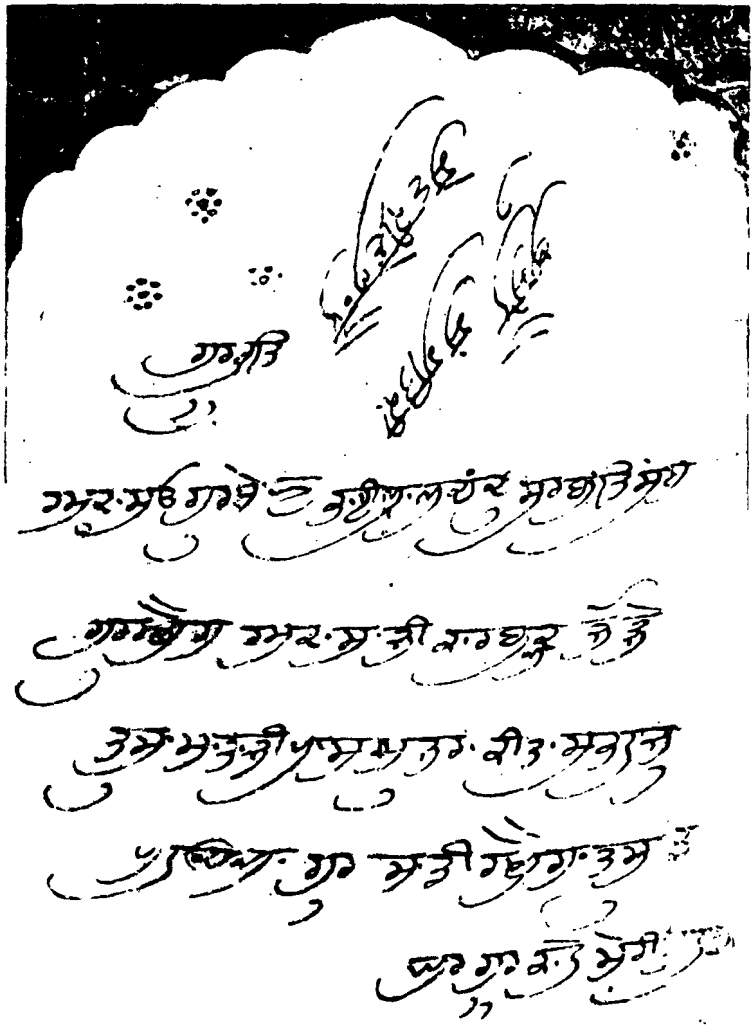

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ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ

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(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)
(A-21; G-38)

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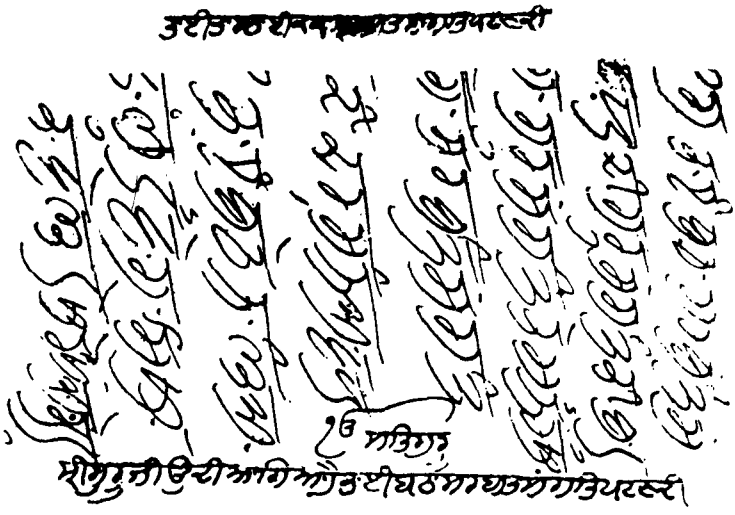

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(ਭਾਈ ਤਾਰਾ, ਭਾਈ ਕੋਕਾ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤ ਪਟਣ ਕੀ)

(ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ ਬਾਹੀ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰ
(ਗੰਗਤਿ ਪ/ਟਣ ਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁ
(ਤੀ ਕਰੇ/ਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ
(ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇ/ਗਾ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ
(ਪਟਣ) ਦੀ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ
(ਜੁ/ਭਾਈ ਬਠੇ ਨਾਲ ਆ
(ਵੇਗੁ ਨਿ) ਹਾਲੁ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਸੇਖਾ
(ਕੇ ਸੇ/ਵਾ ਕਾ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ ਖਰੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਹੋ.....

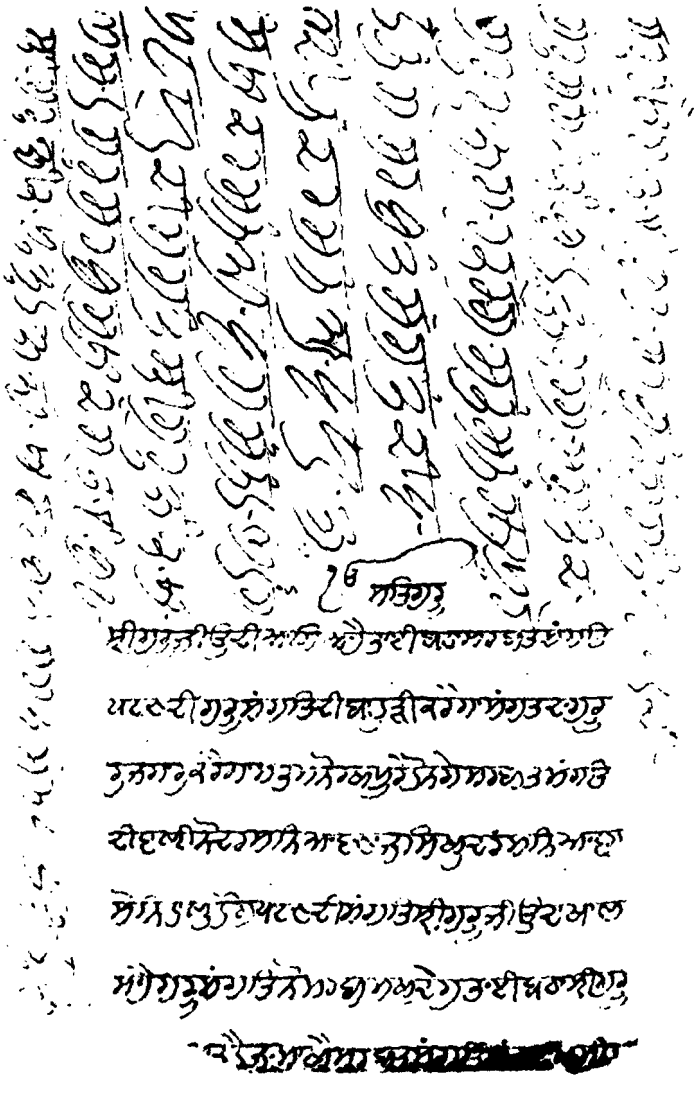
ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣ ਦੀ
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ
ਸਭ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਤੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਪੁਤੁ ਅਸਹਿ
ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਜੁ ਸਿਖੁ
ਭਾਈ ਬਠੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਗੁ ਸੋ ਨਿਹਾਲੁ ਹੋਗੁ ਸਿਖਾ ਪੁਤਾ ਦਾ
ਸੇਵਾ ਦਾ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੇ ਜੇਹਾ ਲੋਚਹੁਗੇ ਤੇਹਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾ ਰਿਜਕੁ ਵਧੈਗਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ
ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਖੁਸੀ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੋ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖ ਦੇਗੁ ਖੁਸੀ ਹੋਈ

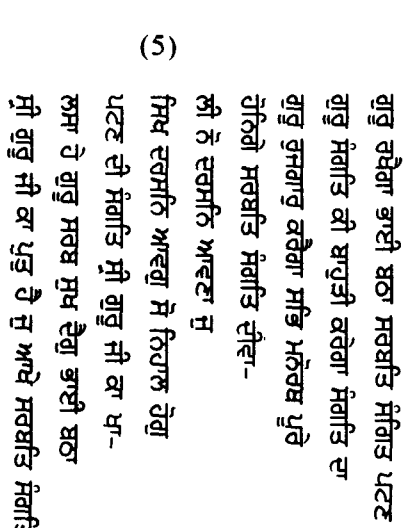
(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)

(A-28; G-29)

(5)



(5)

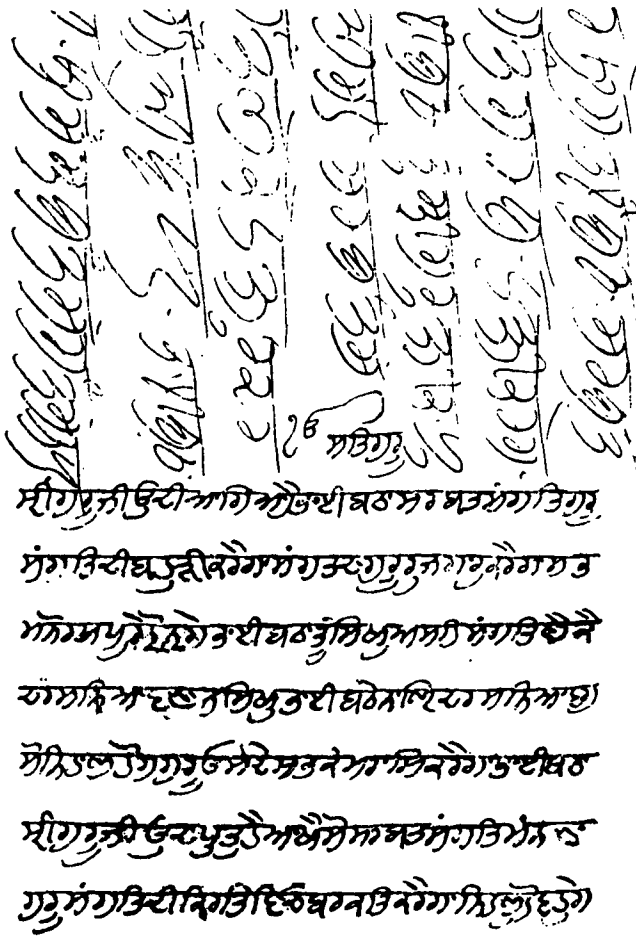

ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਿਤ ਪਟਣ ਦੀ
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦਾ
ਗੁਰੂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸਭਿ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ
ਹੋਨਿਗੇ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੀਵਾ-
ਲੀ ਨੋ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਜੁ
ਸਿਖ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਗੁ ਸੋ ਨਿਹਾਲ ਹੋਗੁ
ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾ-
ਲਸਾ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖ ਦੇਗੁ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਹੈ ਜੁ ਆਖੇ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਮਨਣਾ ਖੁਸੀ (ਹੈ)

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ

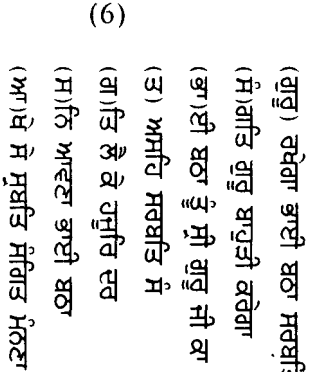
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ
ਰੁਜਗਾਰੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸਭ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਦੀਵਾਲੀ ਨੋ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਜੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਗੁ
ਸੋ ਨਿਹਾਲੁ ਹੋਗੁ ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਖਾਲ-
ਸਾ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਨੋ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖ ਦੇਗੁ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ
(ਦਾ) ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਹੈ ਜੁ ਆਖੇ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮਨਣਾ ਖੁਸੀ ਹੈ

(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)
(A-23; G-8)

(6)



(6)


(ਗੁਰੂ) ਰਖੇਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤ
(ਸੰ)ਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ
(ਭਾ)ਈ ਬਠਾ ਤੂੰ ਸੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਪੁ
(ਤ) ਅਸਹਿ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰ
(ਗ)ਤਿ ਵੈ ਕੇ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਦਰ
(ਸ)ਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ
(ਅ)ਖੇ ਸੁ ਸੁਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤ ਮੰਨਣਾ

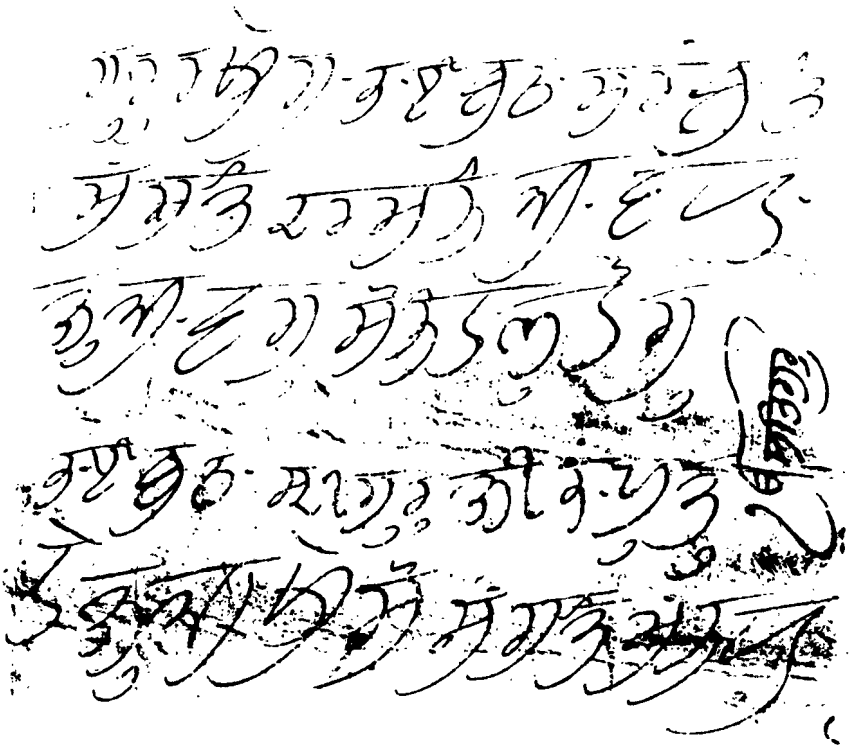
ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸਭ
ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਤੂੰ ਸਿਖੁ ਅਸਹਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਲੈ ਕੇ
ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਜੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਭਾਈ ਬਠੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਗੁ
ਸੋ ਨਿਹਾਲੁ ਹੋਗੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਓਸ ਦੇ ਸਭ ਕੰਮ ਰਾਸਿ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਪੁਤੁ ਹੈ ਆਖੈ ਸੋ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮੰਨਣਾ
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੀ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਬਰਕਤਿ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਨਿਹਾਲੁ ਹੋਵਹੁਗੇ

(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)

(A-24; G-25)

(7)



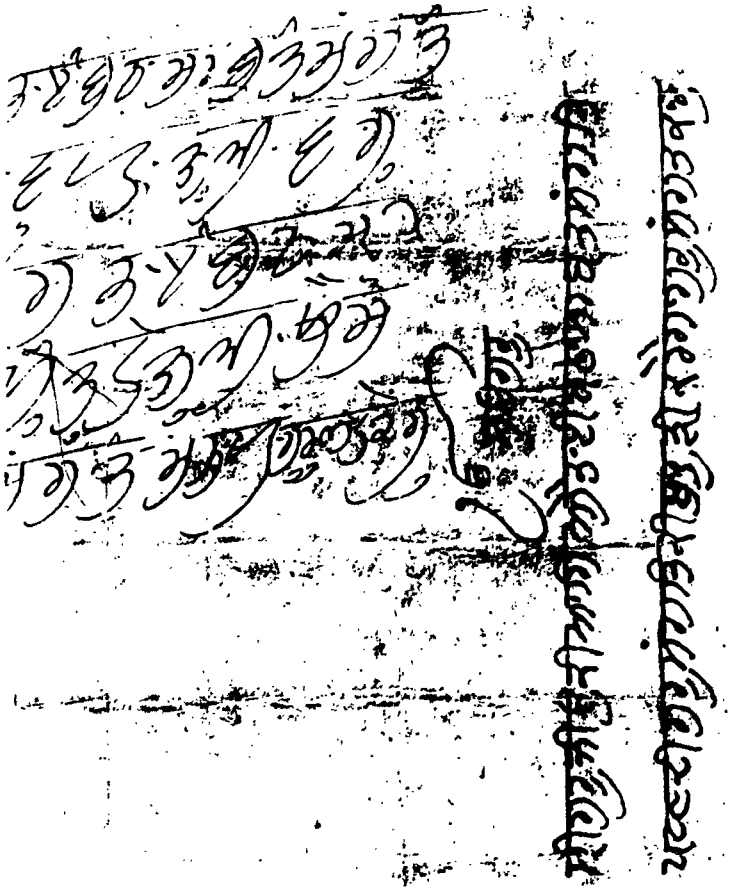
(7)

ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤਿ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ
ਜੋ ਆਵਗੁ ਸੋ ਨਿਹਾਲੁ ਹੋਗੁ
ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਪੁਤੁ
ਹੋ ਜੁ ਆਖੇ ਸੋ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮੰਨਣਾ

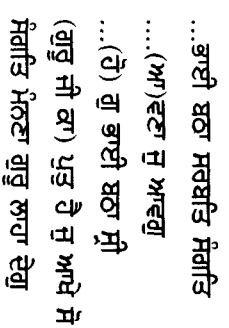
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)
(A-25; G-26)

(8)



(8)



ੴ ਸੇਤਿਗੁਰੂ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ

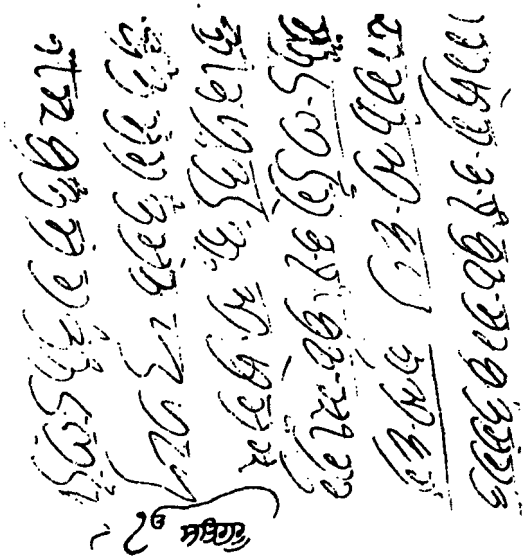
ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਰੁਜ(ਗਾਰ)

... ...

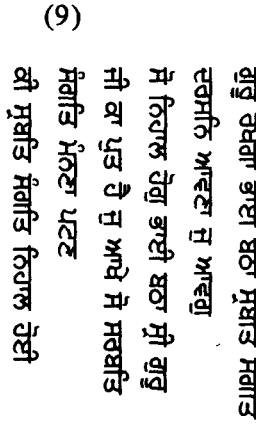
(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)

(A-26)

(9)



(9)

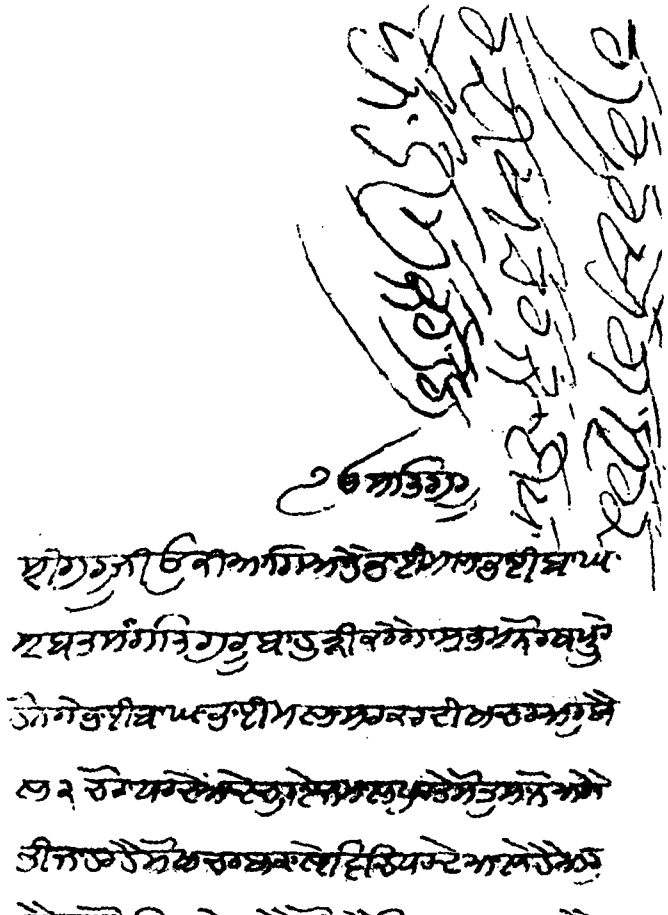

ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸੁਖਹਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਜੁ ਆਵਗੁ
ਸੇ ਨਿਹਾਲ ਹੋਗੁ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ
ਜੀ ਕਾ ਪੁਤ ਹੈ ਜੁ ਆਖੇ ਸੇ ਸਰਬਤਿ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਪਟਣ
ਕੀ ਸੁਖਹਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਨਿਹਾਲ ਹੋਈ

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ
ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਕਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸਭ ਮਨੋਰਥ
ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਤੁਸਾ
ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ ਜੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਭਾਈ ਬਠੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ
ਆਵਗੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਓਸ ਦੇ
ਸਭ ਕੰਮ ਰਾਸਿ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਠਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਪੁਤੁ ਹੈ
ਆਖੇ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਕਰਕੈ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ
ਕਿਰਤਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਬਰਕਤਿ
ਕਰੈਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਨੋ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖ ਦੇਗੁ ਪਟਣ ਦੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਸਭ ਨਿਹਾਲ ਹੋਈ
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਦੀ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾ ਵਾਧਾ
ਕਰੈਗਾ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆਵਣਾ

(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)
(A-27; G-27)

(10)



(10)

ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ ਸਰਕਾਰ
ਦੀ ਖਚਰ ਜਾਣੀ ਪਾਵੈ
ਨਾਹੀ ਮੁਜਰਾ ਹੋਵੂ

ੴ ਸਿਤਿਗੁਰੂ
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਉ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਮਲਾ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਘਾ
ਸ੍ਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਸਭ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ
ਹੋਨਗੇ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਘਾ ਭਾਈ ਮਲਾ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਖਚਰ ਅਰੁ ਬੈ-
ਲ 2 ਚੋਰਾਂ ਧਰਦੇਆਂ ਦੇ ਚੁਰਾਏ ਜਮਾਲਪੁਰ ਤੇ ਸੋ ਤੁਸਾ ਨੋ ਅਗੇ
ਭੀ ਜਾਹਰ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਖਚਰ ਬਕਾਲੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਧਰਦੇਆਲੇ ਹੈ ਅਰੁ
ਬੈਲੰ ਚੋਰਟਿਆ ਤੇ ਅਗੇ ਖੋਹੇ ਹੈਨਿ ਤੁਸਾਡਾ ਮੁਜਰਾ ਹੈ ਖ-
ਚਰ ਭੇਜਾਵਣੀ ਜਾਣ ਪਾਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤ ਕਾ ਵਾਧਾ ਕਰੈਗਾ
ਤੁਸਾਡੇ ਮੁਜਰੇ ਦੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ ਮੇਰੀ ਤੁਸਾ ਉਪਰਿ ਖਰੀ ਖੁਸੀ ਹੈ ।

(ਨੌਸ਼ਹਿਰਾ ਪੰਨੂਆ ਵਿਚ)
(A-22; G-30)

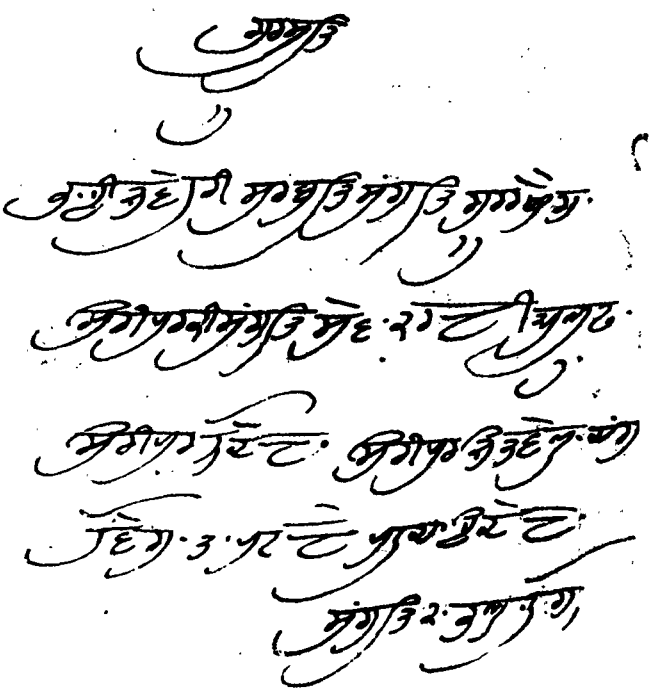
(11)

(11)

ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿ
ਭਾਈ ਬਾਲ ਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਹਰਿਕਿਸਨ ਭਾਈ ਚਤਰ ਭੋਜ
ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲੁ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮਿਰਜਾਪੁਰ ਕੀ
ਗੁਰੁ ਰਖੈਗਾ ਕਾਰਬਾਰ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਭਾਈ
ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸਿ ਭੇਜਣੀ ਹਜੂਰਿ
ਪਹੁਚੈਗੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਹੋਗੁ ਪਿਛੈ ਕਾਰ
ਦੀਈ ਥੀ ਸੋ ਪਹੁਚੀ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)
(A-47; G-20)

(12)



(12)

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ
ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ
ਸਿਰੀਧਰ ਕੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਣੀ ਅਲੁਫਾ
ਸਿਰੀਧਰ ਨੋ ਦੇਣਾ ਸਿਰੀਧਰ ਜਿਤ ਵੇਲਾ ਚੰਗ(ਾ)
ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਤਾ ਪਟਣੇ ਪਹੁਚਾਇ ਦੇਣਾ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਗੁ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)
(A-38; G-10)

(13)

(13)

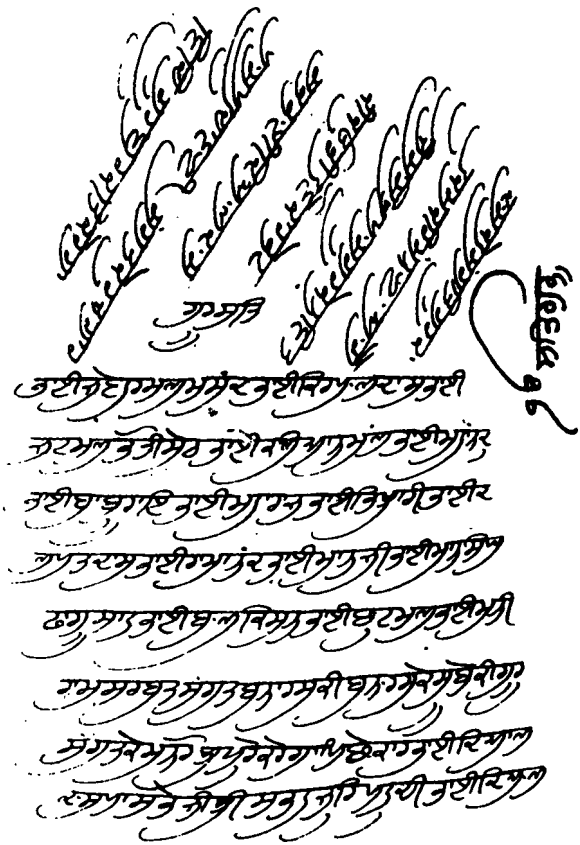
ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਜਟਮਲ
ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਾ ਜਾਦੋ ਘਾਸੀ
ਭਾਈ ਕਲਿਆਨ ਦਾਸ ਭੋਤੀ ਸੇਠ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਬੂ ਰਾਇ
ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਦਾਸ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦਲਪਤਿ ਦਾਸ ਹੀਰਾ ਮੰਨ ਦੁਰਗਾ ਦਾਸ
ਗੰਗਾ ਰਾਮ ਰਘੁਨਾਥ ਮਹਾਨੰਦ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੀ
ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ ਕਾਰਬਾਰ ਲੌਚ ਕੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਨੋ ਦੇਣੀ
ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਪਹੁਚਾਵੇਗਾ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੇਗੀ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਗੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ

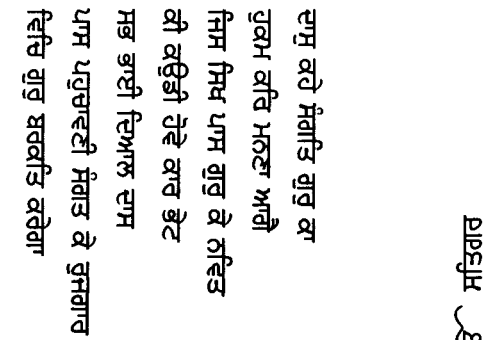
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ੴ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)
(A-39; G-11)

(14)



(14)


ਗੁਰੁਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ
ਦਾਸੁ ਕਹੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ
ਹੁਕਮ ਕਰਿ ਮਨਣਾ ਅਗੈ
ਜਿਸ ਸਿਖ ਪਾਸ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਨਵਿਤ
ਕੀ ਕਛੁਛੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ
ਸਭ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ
ਪਾਸ ਪਹੁਚਾਵਣੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੇ ਹੁਜਗਾਰ
ਵਿਚਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਰਕਤਿ ਕਰੇਗਾ

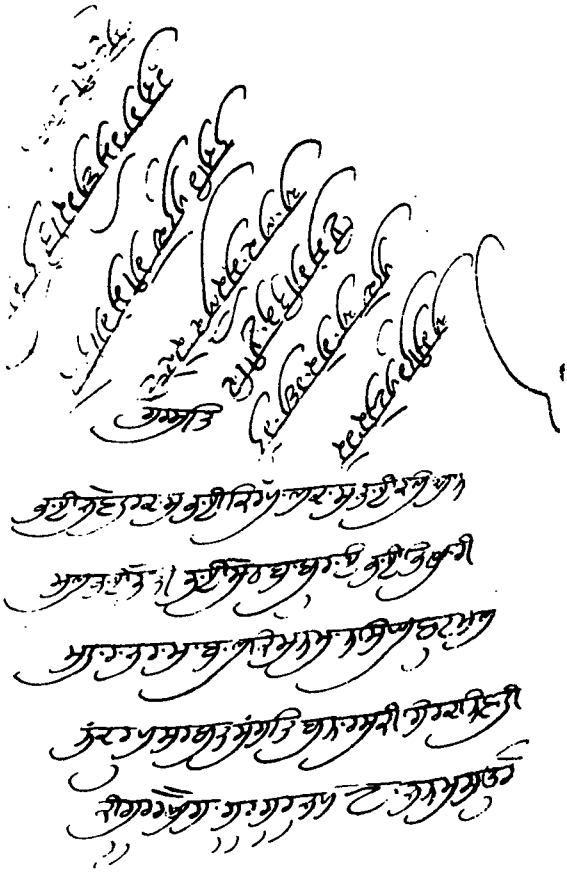
ਗੁਰੁ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰ ਮਲ ਮਸੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਦਾਸੁ ਭਾਈ
ਜਟਮਲ ਭੋਤੀ ਸੇਠ ਭਾਈ ਕਲਿਆਨ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਮਹਾਨੰਦੁ
ਭਾਈ ਬਾਬੂ ਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਭਾਈ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਦ-
ਲਪਤਿ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਭਾਈ ਮਾਨਜੀ ਭਾਈ ਮਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ
ਫਾਗੂ ਸਾਹ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਲ ਕਿਸਨ ਭਾਈ ਛੁਟਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਮਨੀ
ਰਾਮ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤ ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੇ ਸੂਬੇ ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ
ਸੰਗਤ ਕੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਪਿਛੇ ਕਾਰ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ
ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਭੇਜੀ ਥੀ ਸਭ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੀ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)

(A-43; G-14)

(15)



(15)

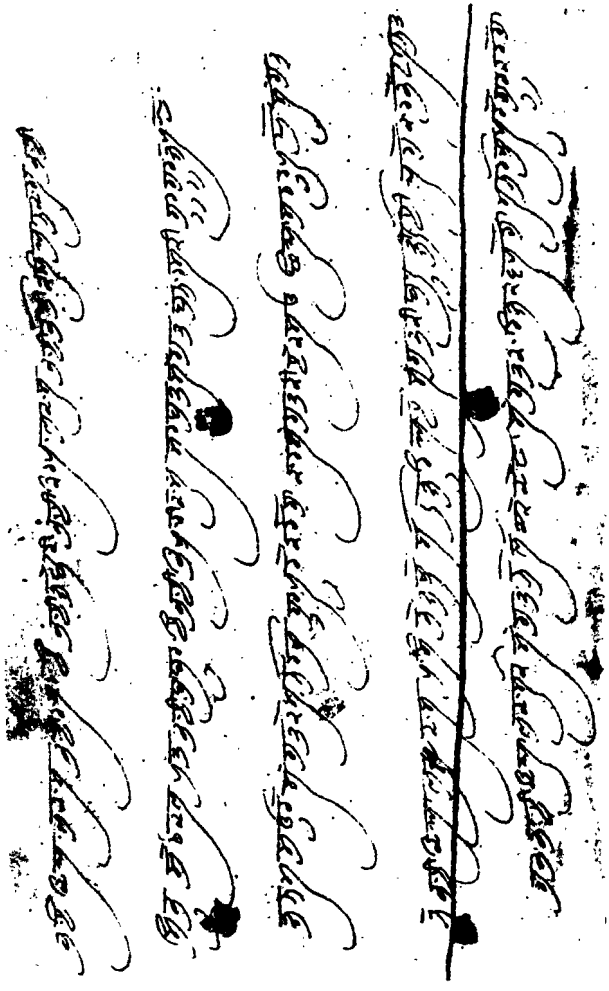
ਅਸੀਹ ਤੁਪਕੇ ਕਾਰ ਕੇ
ਪਹੁਚੇ ਅਗੇ ਕਾਰਖਾਰ ਹੈ-
ਇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਭਾਈ ਦਿ-
ਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਕੇ ਲੇਖ ਕੇ ਦੇਣੀ
ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁੰਚੇਗੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੇ
ਰਸਗਾਰ ਮੇਂ ਬਰਕਤ ਹੋਗੁ
ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਬੇਲਾ ਹੈ

ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਕਲਿਆਨ
ਮਲੁ ਭਾਈ ਭੋਤੀ ਭਾਈ ਸੇਠ ਬਾਬੂ ਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ
ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਰਾਮਾ ਬਾਲ ਕਿਸਨ ਮਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਛੁਟਮਲ
ਨੰਦਰੂਪ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੀ ਗਿਰਦ ਨਿਵਾਹੀ
ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਾਪਣਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਸਉਰੇ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)
(A-44; G-18)

(16)



(16)

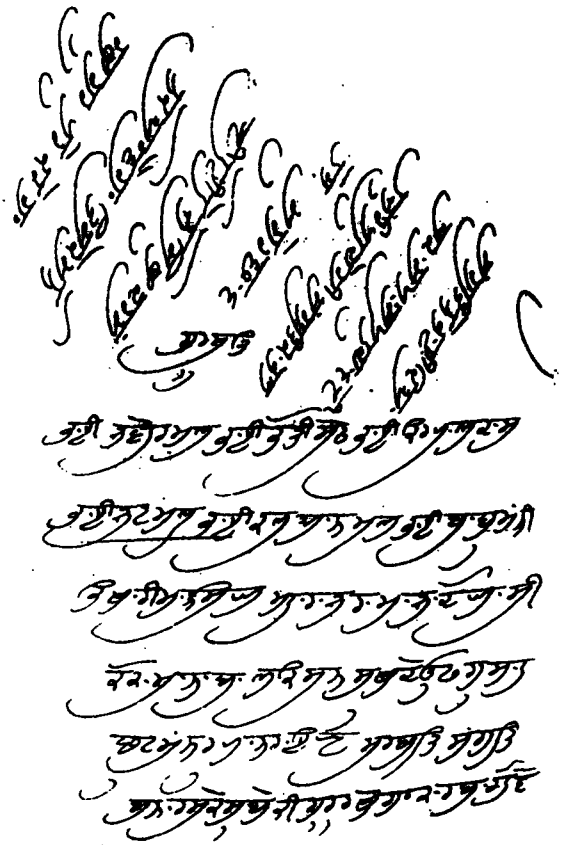
ਗੁਰ ਸਤ

ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਭੋਤੀ ਕਲਿਆਨ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ
ਸਿਭੂ ਸੇਠ ਦਲਪਤ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਬੂਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਦਾਸ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤ
ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਪਣਾ
ਜਨਮੁ ਸਉਰੇ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਕਾਰ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੀ ਏਕ ਸਓ
ਛਿਆਸਠ ਰੁਪਏ ਸੰਗਤ
ਨੇ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸਿ ਭੇਜੇ ਥੇ ਸੋ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਆਏ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੀ ਬਹੁੜੀ
ਹੋਈ ਆਗੇ ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਮਨਤ
ਸਭ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਕੋ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੇ ਲੋਚ ਕੇ ਦੇਣਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਕਾ ਰਿਜਕ
ਵਧੇਗਾ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਰੇਗਾ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੰੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)

(A-41; G-19)

(17)



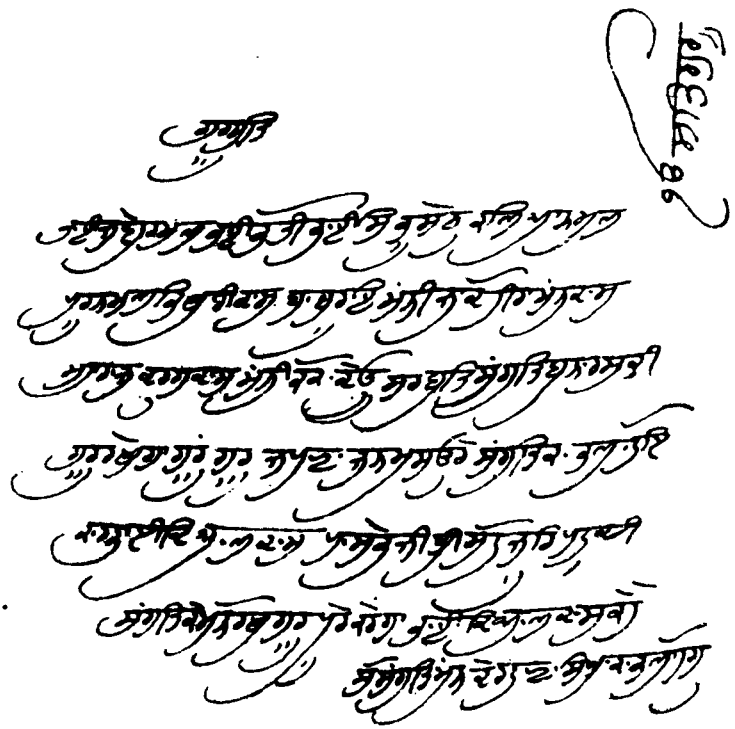
(17)

ਸੰਗਤਿ ਨੇ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆ-
ਸ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਵਣੀ
ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੇਗੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ
ਹੋਗਾ ਮੁਗੋਰ ਛਾਵ-
ਣੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸਿਖੁ ਦਰਸ-
ਨ ਕੋ ਆਵੈਗਾ ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਮਨੋ
ਰਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇਗਾ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ
ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਭੋਤੀ ਸੇਠ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਜਟਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਕਲਆਨ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਬੂ ਮੰਨੀ
ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਮਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਰਾਮਾ ਜਾਦੋ ਘਾਸੀ
ਕੋਕਾ ਮਾਨਾ ਬਾਲਕਿਸਨ ਸੁਖਦੇਉ ਫਗੂਸਾਹ
ਛੁਟਮੰਨ ਰੂਪ ਨਰਾਇਣ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੇ ਸੂਬੇ ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਕਾਰਬਾਰ ਹੋਵੇ

(ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)
(A-40; G-16)

(18)



(18)

ਗੁਰੂ ਸ਼ਤਿ

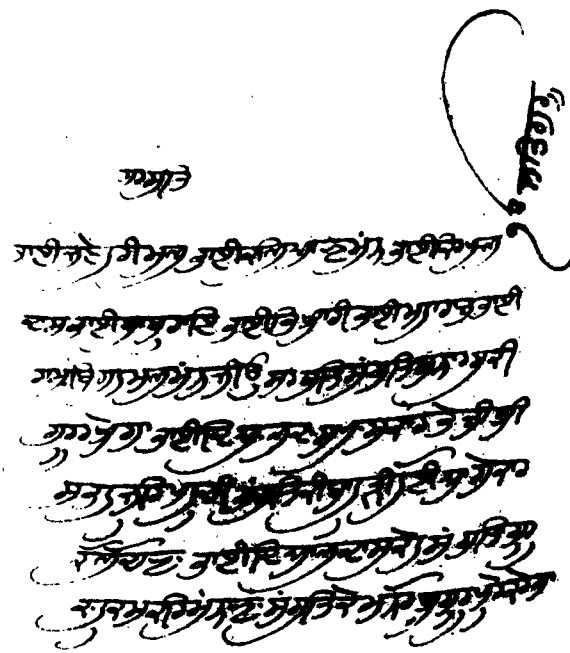
ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਭੋਤੀ ਭਾਈ ਸਿਭੂ ਸੇਠੁ ਕਲਿਆਨ ਮਲ
ਪੂਰਨ ਮਲ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਦਾਸ ਬਾਬੂ ਰਾਇ ਮੰਨੀ ਜਾਦੋ ਹੀਰਾ ਮੰਨ ਦਾਸ
ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੁਰਗਾ ਦਾਸ ਮੰਨੀ ਕੋਕਾ ਦੇਊ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੀ
ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਗਰੂ ਜਪਣਾ ਜਨਮ ਸਉਰੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਇ
ਕਾਰ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਭੇਜੀ ਥੀ ਜੋ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੀ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਕਹੈ
ਸੋ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮੰਨਦੇ ਰਹਿਣਾ ਸਿਖਾ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਗੁ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)

(A-45)

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਜੀ

(19)



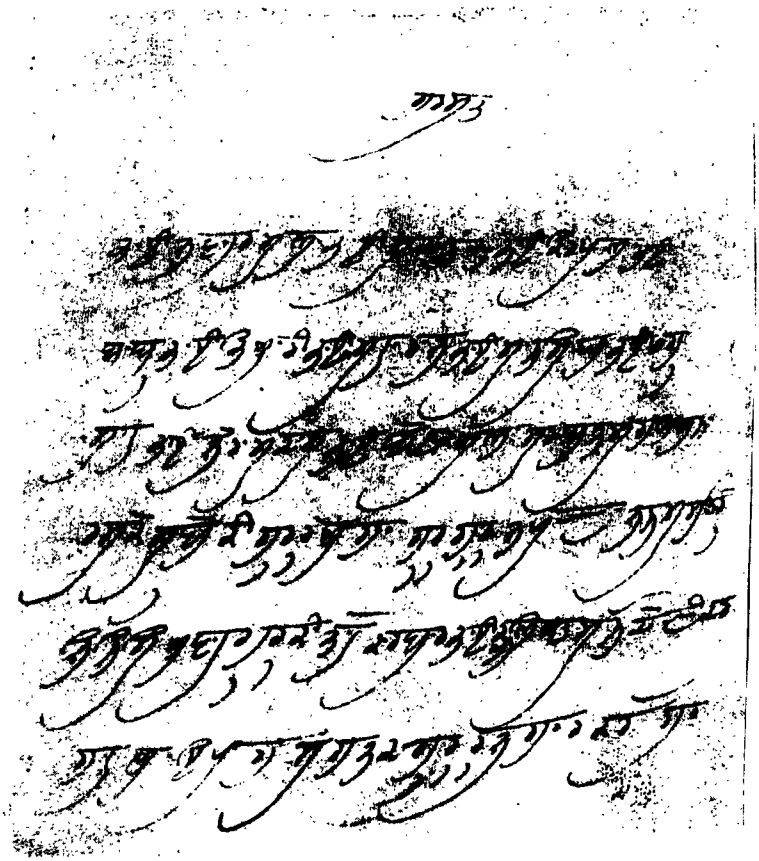
(19)

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ
ਭਾਈ ਜਵੇਹਰੀ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਕਲਿਆਣ ਮੰਨ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ
ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਬੂ ਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਭਾਈ
ਰਾਮ ਬਿਗਹ ਮਲ ਮੰਨ ਜੀਉ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਬਨਾਰਸ ਕੀ
ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਕਾਰ ਭੇਜੀ ਥੀ
ਸਭ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਹੋਈ ਆਗੇ ਕਾਰ
ਕੋ ਲੋਚਣਾ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸੁ ਕਹੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੁ
ਕਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਕਰਿ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇਗਾ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)
(A-42)

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ

(20)



(20)

ਗੁਰ ਸਤ

ਭਾਈ ਜਵਾਹਰ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਸਦਾਨੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲਾ ਭਾਈ
ਬਾਬੂ ਭਾਈ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਭਾਈ ਮਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਈ ਫਗੂ
ਸਾਹ ਭਾਈ ਜੈਰਾਮ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਛਟੇਕ ਮਲ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤ ਬਨਾ-
ਰਸ ਕੇ ਸੂਬੇ ਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਪਣਾ ਜਨਮ ਸਉਰੇ
ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਖ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਾਰਬਾਰ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸੁ ਨੋ ਦੇਣੀ ਦਰਗਾਹ
ਥਾਇ ਪਗੁ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕਰੇਗਾ

(ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬੜੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ, ਬਨਾਰਸ)

(A-46)

(21)

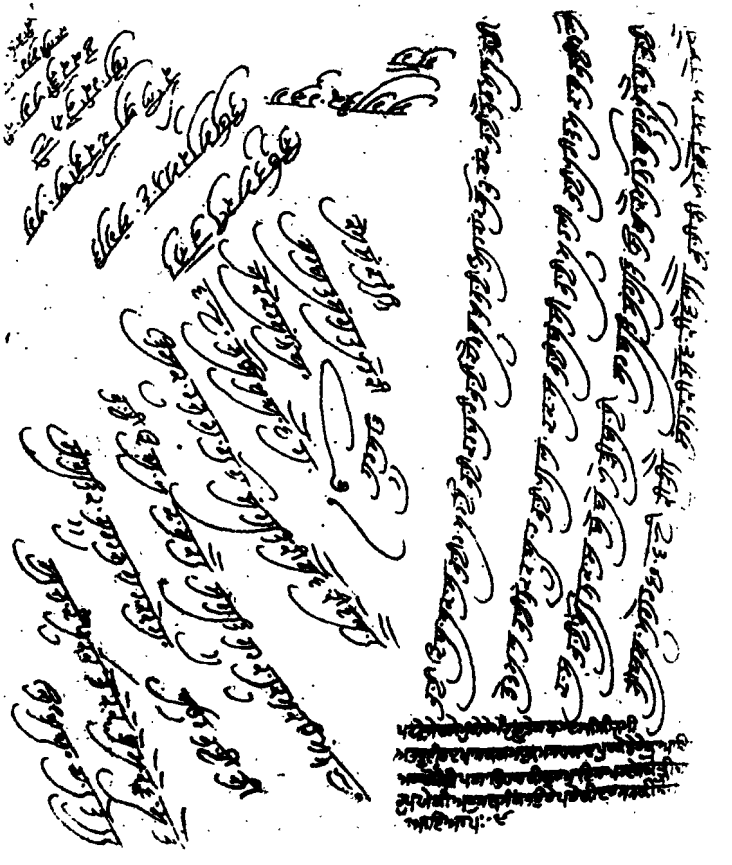
(21)

ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣੇ ਕੀ ਗੁਰ
ਰਖੇਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ
ਜਪਣਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਸਫੁਰੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ
ਹੋਵੇ ਕਾਰ
ਭੇਟ ਕਪੜੇ ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੂ
ਭਾਈ ਕੀਲਿਆਨ ਰਾਇ
ਹਰਿਬ ਭੇਜੀ ਬੀ ਸੇ ਹਜੂਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਕੇ ਰੁਮਗਹਾਰ ਵਿਖਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਰਕ-
ਤਿ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਪਟਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ
ਕਾ ਘਰ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ
ਭਲਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ
ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਚੈਨੁਸਖ ਭਾਈ
ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਸੁਭਾਚੰਦੂ
ਭਾਈ ਜੈ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਈ ਚਿਮਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲਮੰਨ ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਡੋਡਮਲ
ਭਾਈ ਪਹਲਾਦ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ
ਬੰਸੀਧਰ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਘੋਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਸੇਠ ਛਬੀਲਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਪਰੀਤਮ
ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ
ਭਾਈ ਪਰਾਨ ਨਾਥ ਬਖਸੀ ਮੁਰਲੀਧਰ ਭਾਈ ਹੀਰਾਨੰਦੂ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਝਬਰ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਪਰ-
ਸਰਾਮ ਮੋਹਨਦਾਸ ਨੇਨਸੁਖ ਬਾਲਗੋਬਿੰਦੂ ਸੰਕਰਦਾਸ ਸਦਾਨੰਦੂ ਸੂਜਾਰਾਮ
ਭਗਵਾਨ ਦਾਸ ਗੁਜਰ-
ਮਲ ਸੰਕਰਦਾਸ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਛਜੂਮਲ ਨੰਦ ਕੁਆਰ ਭਾਈ ਜਸੋਧਾ ਨੰਦਨ
ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੂ ਪਰਾਨ ਨਾਥ ਬਲੀ-
ਰਾਮ ਸੁਭਾਚੰਦ ਜਗਦੇਉ ਦਲਪਤਿ ਰਾਇ ਅਨੀਰਾਇ ਘਨਸਿਆਮ ਸੁਖਦੇਉ
ਗਜਮਲ ਗਜੂਆ ਭਾਗ ਮਲ
ਛਬੀਲਦਾਸ ਸੁਫੇਰਾ ਅਮਲੀਆ ਫੇਰੂ ਕਿਰਪਾਲਾ ਬੰਸੀ ਸੁਖਦੇਉ ਪੇੜੀ ਬਾਈ
ਰਾਮ ਚੰਦੂ ਹਰਕੇਸ
ਛਬੀਲਦਾਸ ਮਿਤਰਸੇਣ ਕੇਵਲ ਰਾਮ ਮੰਗੂ ਅਨੰਤਾ ਮਨਸੁਖ ਬਸੰਤ ਰਾਇ ਲਛੂਆ
ਬਾਲਾ ਸਦਾਨੰਦ ਸਾਧੂ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-30; G-22)

(22)



(22)

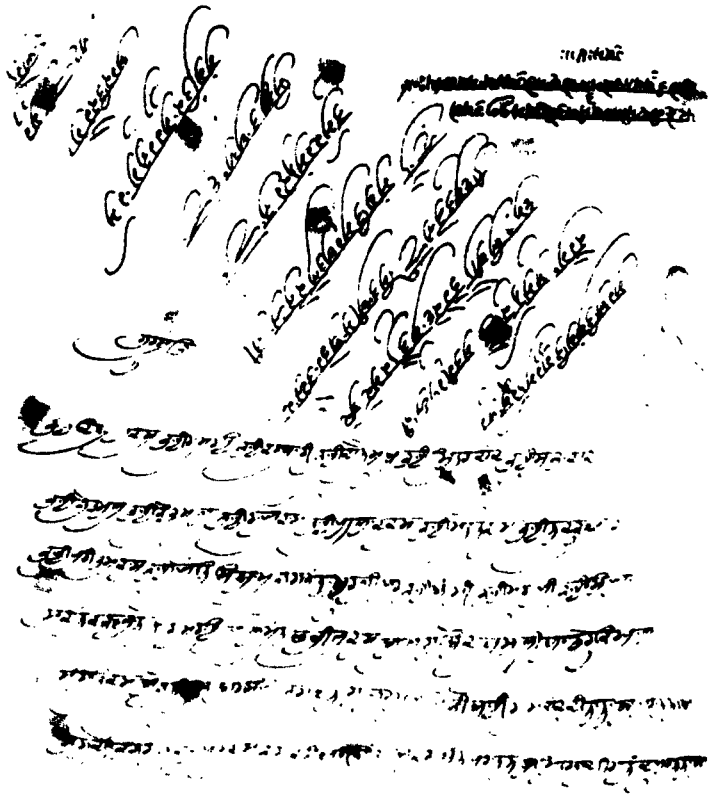
ਕੇ ਮਸੰਦ ਹਨਿ
ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਰੇ ਕੀ
ਲੇ ਕੇ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਆ
ਵਣਾ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਆਵੇਗਾ
ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਤੁਮਗਾਰ ਹੋਗਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ
ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸੁ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਕਰਿ ਮਨਣਾ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੁਮਗਾਰ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਅਉਰ ਭਾਈ ਜੀ
ਸਹਜਾਦਪੁਰ ਕੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ ਖੇਮੇ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਚਾਹਤੇ ਹਹ
ਜਿਉ ਤੁਮ ਕਹਿ ਭੇਜਹ ਤਿਉ ਹਮ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਵਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਕੇ ਲਿਖਹ ਦੇ ਕੋੜੀਆ ਪਗਾ ਬਿਹਾਰ ਕੀ ਭੇਜਣੀ
ਏਕ ਕੋੜੀ ਪਗਾ ਕੀ ਚਾਲੀਸ ਰੁਪਏ ਕੀ ਭੇਜਣੀ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਤੁਮਗਾਰ ਹੋਗੁ

ੴ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਚੈਨਸੁਖ
ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦ ਸੋਭਾਚੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਜੈਠ ਮਲੁ ਭਾਈ
ਡੇਡਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦੁਕੁਆਰ ਭਾਈ ਪਹਲਾਦ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਬੰਸੀ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀ
ਭਾਈ ਪਰੀਤਮ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਘੋ
ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਮੋਹਨ ਦਾਸ ਬੇਬੇ ਪੇੜੀਬਾਈ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸਿਖਾ ਕੈ ਮਨੋਰਥੁ
ਗੁਰੂ ਪੁਰੈਗਾ ਭਾਈ
ਜੀ ਅਸਾ ਮੁਗੇਰ ਛਾਵਣੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ
ਭਾਈ ਜੀ ਪਰੇ ਕੇ ਜੁ ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਸੂਬੇ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-31; G-15)

(23)



(23)

ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ
ਕਰੈਗਾ ਅਸੁਨੇ ਕੂਚ ਹੈ ਸਤਰੀ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਕੀ
ਵਸਤ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਦੇਖਦੇ
ਹੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਭੇਜਣੀ ਸਿਤਾਬੀ ਸਾਥ ਡੇਰਾ ਤਯਾਰ ਹੈ-
ਣਾ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸਰਬਤ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਭਯਾ ਜੀ
ਤੁਮੇ ਦਰਸੰਨ ਕਰ ਜਾਣਾ
ਸਿਤਾਬ ਆਵਣਾ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੁਮਹਾਰ ਮੇਂ
ਬਰਕਤਿ ਕਰੈਗਾ
ਪਟਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ
ਕਾ ਘਰੁ ਹੈ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਚੈਨਸੁਖ
ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਸੁਭਾ ਚੰਦ
ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਡੇਡਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਘੋਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਪਹਿਲਾਦ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਮੋਹਨ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਕੁਆਰ
ਭਾਈ ਪਰੀਤਮ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਘਨਿਸਿਆਮ ਜਗਮੰਨ ਮੁਰਲੀਧਰ ਭਾਈ ਬੰਸੀ
ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀ ਭਾਈ ਸਿੰਘਾ
ਸਦਾਨੰਦ ਕਵਲਨੇਨ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਲਾਲਮਨ ਛਬੀਲਦਾਸ ਬਾਲ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ
ਅਮਲੀਆ ਫੇਰੁ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦਾਸ ਬੇਜਨਾਥ ਝਬਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਗੁਜਰਮਲ ਪੇੜੀ ਬਾਈ
ਰਾਮਚੰਦੁ ਦੀਨਾਨਾਥ ਪਰਾਨ ਨਾਥ
ਜਗਦੇਉ ਭੋਜਰਾਜ ਦਲਪਤ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਰਾ ਦਰੀਆ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਬਿਦਰਾਬੰਨ
ਪਰਾਨਨਾਥ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦ ਹੀਰਾ ਨੰਦੁ ਪਰਾਨਨਾਥ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-33; G-17)

(24)

(24)

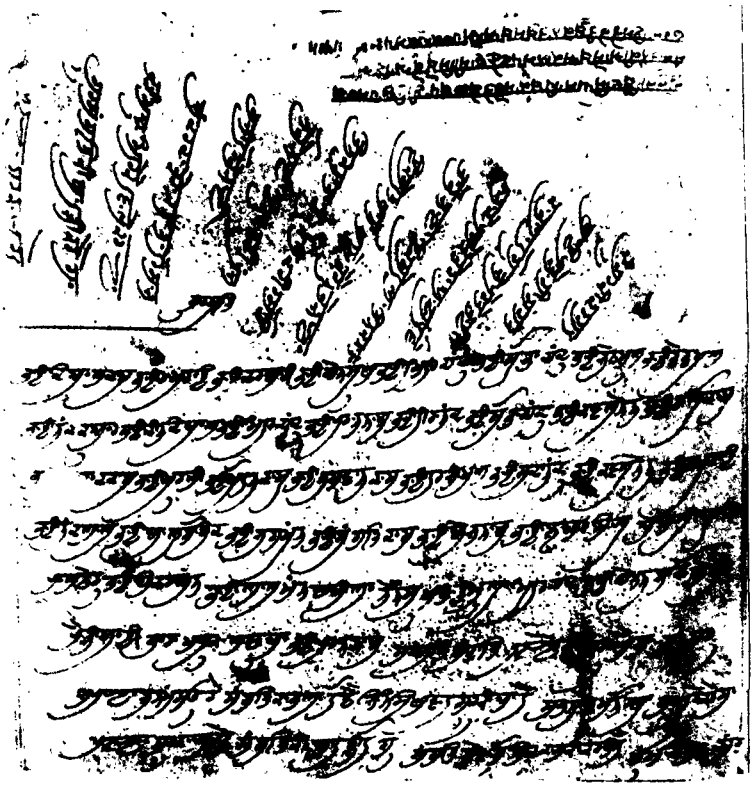
ਸਰਬੀਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣੇ ਕੀ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਖ
ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੇ
ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਵੇਹਿਗੇ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ
ਦਾਸ ਕੀ ਬਧਾਈ ਉਪਰਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਖਰਚ ਕੀਆ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਬਾਦਿ
ਪਯਾ ਰੁਪਏ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਰ ਬਾਦਿ ਪੜੀ
ਪੀਛੇ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੇ ਬਾ-
ਇ ਪਈ ਅਗੇ ਸੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੇਗਾ
ਤਿਸਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਗਾ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੇ ਰੋਜਗਾਰ
ਮੇ ਬਰ
ਕਤਿ ਹੋਗਾ ਭਾਈ ਜੀ ਸਰਪਾਉ
ਭੇਜਿਆ ਹੈ
ਪਟਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਘਰ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ
ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਗਾ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਚੈਨਸੁਖ
ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਸੁਭਾ ਚੰਦ
ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠ ਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਡੇਡਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦਕੁਆਰ ਭਾਈ ਦੀਨ ਦਿਆਲ
ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰ ਚੰਦ...
ਨਾਥ ਭਾਈ ਹੀਰਾਨੰਦੁ ਰਾਘੋ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਪਹਲਾਦ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ
ਬੰਸੀਧਰ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀਧਰ...
ਮੋਹਨਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਨੇਨ ਸੁਖ ਭਾਈ ਹਰਕੇਸ ਭਾਈ ਛਬੀਲਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ
ਭਗਵਾਨ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ...
ਭਾਈ ਸਦਾਨੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਘਨਿਸਿਆਮ ਭਾਈ ਕਵਲਨੈਨ
ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀਧਰ ਭਾਈ...
ਭਾਈ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਬੈਜਨਾਥ ਭਾਈ ਸੁਖਦੇਉ ਭਾਈ
ਝਬਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਈ...
ਮ ਭਾਈ ਜਗਮੰਨ ਭਾਈ ਛਬੀਲਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰੂਪਨ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲ ਮੰਨ ਭਾਈ
ਅਨੰਤਦਾਸੁ ਭਾਈ...
ਸੁਫੇਰ ਚੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਨੇਨਸੁਖ ਗੁਲਾਲਚੰਦ ਬਾਲਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ
ਭਾਈ ਭਗਤਾ ਬਿਦਰਾਬੰਨ...
ਪਾਲਾ ਫੇਰੂ ਬੰਸੀਧਰ ਸੁਖਦੇਉ ਮਾਛੀ ਸੁਜਾਰਾਮ ਚੇਨਸੁਖ ਹੀਰਾ ਨੰਦੁ ਪਰਸਰਾਮ...
ਮਿਤਰ ਸੈਣ ਗਜਮਨ ਜਗਦੇਉ ਦਲਪਤ ਦਾਸੁ ਭਾਈ ਮਲੂਕ ਦਾਸੀਆ ਚੇਤਨ...
ਲਛੂਆ ਰਘਨਾਥ ਫਤਹਚੰਦ ਬੇਬੇ ਪੋੜੀ ਬਾਈ ਦੀਨਾਨਾਥ ਪਰਾਨਨਾਥ...

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-35; G-21)

(25)



(25)

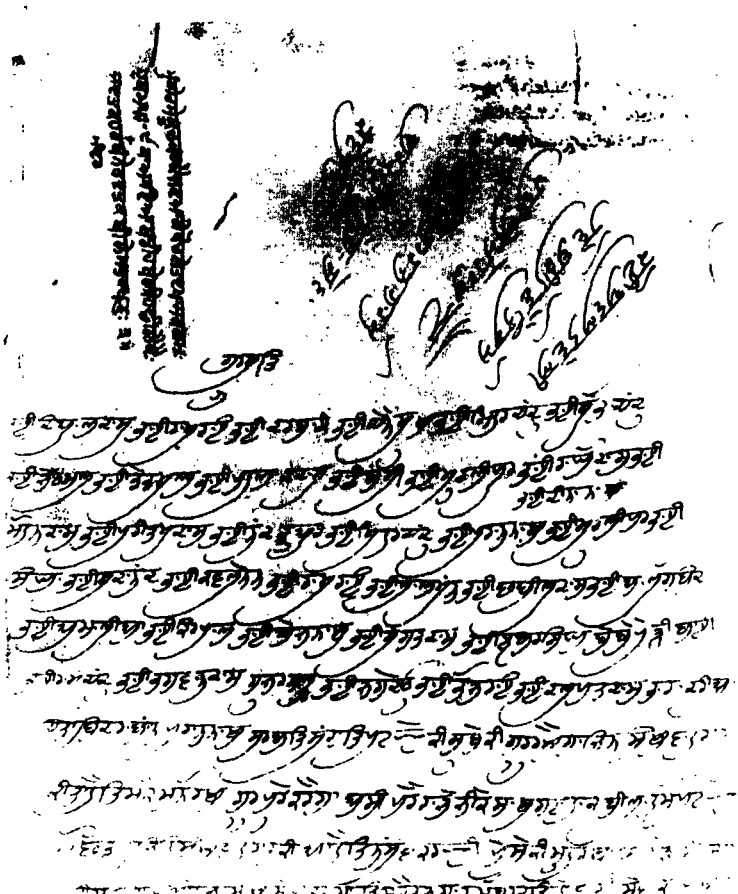
ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦਰਗਾਹ
ਬਾਦਿ ਪੜੇਗੀ ਸੰਗਤ
ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਗੁ ਜੇ ਪੜੇ ਤੇ ਭਾਈ
ਰਾਜਾ ਦੇ ਪਾਸ ਤੇ ਡੇਰਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੋਵੈ
ਤਾ ਭੇਜਣਾ ਇਕ ਸੁਹੇਲਾ ਤਿਨ ਕਨਾਤਾਂ
ਇਕ ਸੇਹਤਖਾਨਾ ਖਾਸੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਭੇਜਣਾ
ਤਿਨ ਕਨਾਤਾਂ ਇਕੁ ਕਲੰਦਰੀ ਰਸੋਇ
ਨੇ ਭੇਜਣੀ ਇਕੁ ਰਾਵਟੀ ਪੰਜ
ਗਜੀ ਹੋਰ ਭੇਜਣੀ
ਅੰਦਰ ਦਾ ਡੇਰਾ ਕਨਾਤਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਸਾਜ
ਭਾਈ ਮਨੂੰ ਮੇਹਰੇ ਕੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕਰਣਾ
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ
ਪਟਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਘਰ ਹੈ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ

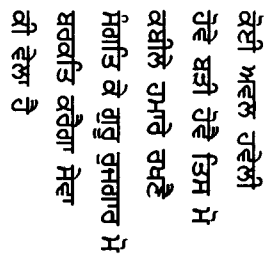
ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਚੇਨ ਸੁਖ ਭਾਈ
ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਸੋਭਾਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠ ਮਲੁ ਭਾਈ ਡੇਡਮਲ
ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦਕੁਆਰ ਭਾਈ ਦੀਨਦਿਆਲ ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਪਰਾਨਨਾਥ
ਭਾਈ ਹੀਰਾ ਨੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਸੋਭਾਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਕਵਲਨੇਨ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਘੋ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਪਹਲਾਦ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀ ਭਾਈ ਮੋਹਨਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਭਗਵਾਨਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਹਰਜੀਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਸਦਾਨੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਕਵਲਨੇਨ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ
ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦਲਾਲ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਲਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਜਗਮੰਨ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ
ਬੇਜਨਾਥ ਭਾਈ ਝਬਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਮਾਲੀਆ ਕਿਰ-
ਪਾਲ ਫੇਰੂ ਭਾਈ ਬਿਦਰਾਬੰਨ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲਮੰਨ ਛਬੀਲਾ ਨੇਨਸੁਖ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਲਾ
ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਚੇਤਨ ਜਾਦੋ ਬੇਬੇ
ਪੌੜੀ ਬਾਈ ਭਾਰਾ ਮਲੂਕਾ ਲਛੂਆ ਭਾਈ ਪਰਾਨਨਾਥੁ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣੇ
ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੇਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ
ਜਪਣਾ ਜਨਮ ਸਉਰੇ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਜਿਨ ਸਿਖ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ
ਸਭਨਾ ਕੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੇਗਾ
ਪਟਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਘਰ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਹੋਗੁ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸੇਵਾ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਦਾਸ
ਕੀ ਕਰਤੀ ਹੈ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-34; G-23)

(26)



(26)

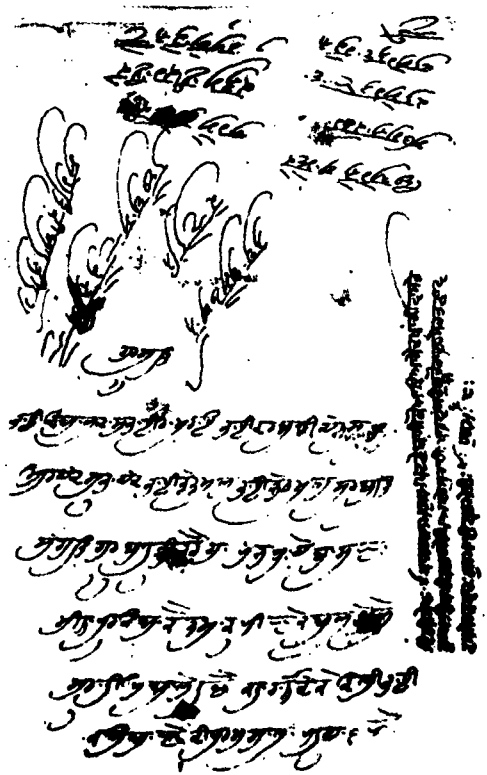


ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਚੈਨਸੁਖ
ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਸੋਭ ਚੰਦੁ
ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਡੇਡਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਪਹਲਾਦ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਬੰਸੀ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀਧਰ
ਭਾਈ ਰਾਘੋਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਦੀਨਾਨਾਥ
ਮੋਹਨਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਪਰੀਤਮਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਕੁਆਰ ਭਾਈ ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦੁ
ਭਾਈ ਪਰਾਨ ਨਾਥ ਭਾਈ ਮੁਰਲੀਧਰ ਭਾਈ
ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਈ ਸਦਾਨੰਦ ਭਾਈ ਕਵਲ ਨੇਨ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮ ਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲ ਮੰਨ
ਭਾਈ ਛਬੀਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਲ ਗੋਬਿਦ
ਭਾਈ ਅਮਾਲੀਆ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਭਾਈ ਬੇਜਨਾਥ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗਤ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਈ ਝਬਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਬੇਬੇ ਪੇੜੀ ਬਾਈ
ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਦਾਸ ਗੁਜਰਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਜਗਦੇਉ
ਭਾਈ ਭੋਜਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਲਪਤ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਰਾ ਦਰੀਆ
ਚਿੰਤਾ ਬਿਦਰਾਬੰਨ ਪਰਾਨ ਨਾਥ ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਟਣੇ ਕੇ ਸੂਬੇ ਕੀ ਗੁਰੂ
ਰਖੈਗਾ ਜਿਨ ਸਿਖ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ
ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੈ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਅਸੀ ਪਰੇ ਰਾਜੇ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ
ਗਏ ਹਾ ਕਬੀਲਾ ਹਮੋ ਪਟਣੈ
ਮੋ ਛੋਡਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਨ ਸਿਖ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ ਤਿਨ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਣੀ ਪੈਸੇ ਕੀ
ਮੁਹਰ ਬਾਇ ਪੜੈਗੀ ਸੰਗਤ
ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ ਜੁ ਸਿਖ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਤਿਸ ਕੈ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਮੋ ਬਰਕਤਿ
ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਾ ਵਖਤ ਹੈ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-32; G-13)

(27)



(27)

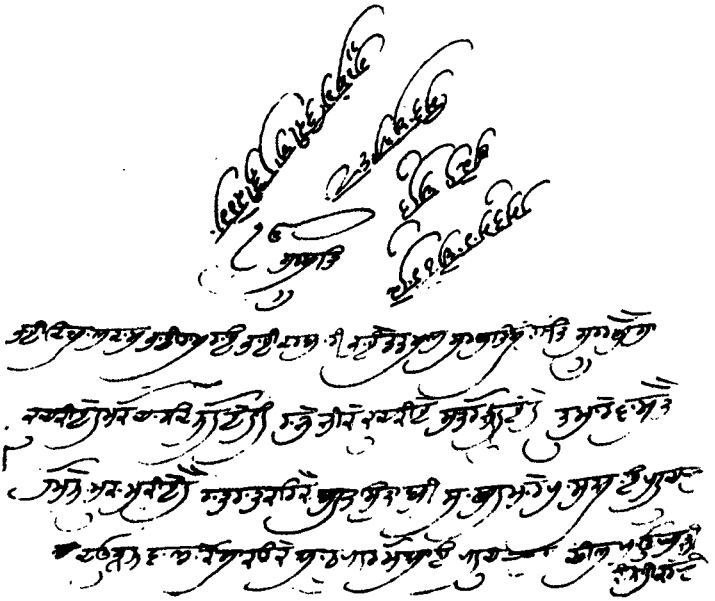
ਨਬਾਬ ਸੈਫ ਖਾਂ ਨੇ-
ਦੇਣੇ ਹਨਿ
ਹਡੈ ਬਾਸਣ ਭੇਜਣੇ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਹੋਗੀ
ਛਿਅ ਰੋਜੇ ਖਾਵਣੇ ਕੇ
ਸਹਿ ਗਜਾ ਕੋਰਾ
ਦਹਮੇਰ ਤਣਾਵਾ
ਦਹਮੇਰ ਨਵਾਰ ਭੇਜਣੀ
ਧਰਮੇ ਕੀ
ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਕਰਾਇ ਕੇ
ਤੁਪਕੇ ਭੇਜਣੇ

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ

ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਚੇਨਸੁਖ
ਮਿਹਰਚੰਦ ਸੁਭਾਚੰਦੁ ਭਾਈ ਡੇਡਮਲ ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠਮਲੁ ਸਰਬਤਿ
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਪੰਜ ਖਾਂਚੇ ਬਾਸਣਾ
ਮੀਨਾਪੁਰ ਕਿਆ ਕੇ --- ਅਲਬੇਲੇ
ਸੁਰਾਹੀ ਪਿਆਲੇ ਹਡੈ ਕਹਾਰਾ ਨੋ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਦਿਲੀ ਭਾਈ
ਕਲਿਆਣੇ ਦੀ ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ ਪਹੁਚਾਵਣੇ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(G-24)

(28)



(28)

ਹਮ ਤੁਮਾਰਾ ਖੈਰੇ ਰਾਹ ਹੈ-
ਪਹੈ ਹਾ ਬਹੁਤ
ਸਿਤਾਬ ਆਵਣਾ
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਾਹੁੜੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ

ੴ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ
ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮਰਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਦਰਬਾਰੀ ਭਾਈ ਡੇਡਮਲ
ਸਰਬਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਖੈਗਾ
ਕੂਚ ਕੀਏ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਚਾਰ ਦਿਨ ਹੋਏ ਹਹਿ ਰਾਜੇ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਕੂਚ ਕੀਏ ਸਤ
ਰੋਜ ਹੂਏ ਹੇ ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਵਾਸ੍ਤੈ
ਹਮੋ ਨੇ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਕੀਏ ਹੈ ਰਾਤ ਰਾਤ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਿਤਾਬੀ ਸਾਥ ਹਮਾਰੇ
ਪਾਸ ਆਇ ਪਹੁਚਣਾ
ਦਉੜਨ ਵਾਲਾ ਕੋਸਾ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਆਠ ਪਹਰ ਮੋ ਆਇ ਪਹੁਚਣਾ ਢੀਲ ਪਾਉ
ਘੜੀ ਕੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਰਣੀ

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਿਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪਟਨਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ)
(A-36; G-12)

THREE ADDITIONAL *HUKAMNAMAS*

(29)

ਭਾਈ ਪਰਾਨ (ਨਾਥ)
ਹ ਭਾਈ
ਗੁਜਰ ਮਲ
ਕਿਸਨ ਦਾਸ
ਘਨਿਸਿਆ(ਮ)
ਛਬੀਲ ਦਾਸ ਭਾਈ
ਅਮਲੀਆ ਕੇਸੋ ਕਰ (ਪਾਲਾ)
ਪਾਲਾ ਗੁਵਰਧੰਨ ਦਾਸ
ਭਾਗਮਲ ਮਲੁਕਾ
ਹਿਰਦੇ ਰਾਮ
ਬਾਬਾ ਮੁਲਾ·ਬੁਘਾ ਰੁੜਾ
ਬੜਾ ਪਰਾਨਨਾਥ

(ਸਿੱਖ ਰੈਫ਼ਰੈਨਸ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ)

(30)

I. Aumkar Satguru

This letter is written to the revered and respected, "Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Saddhrimal and Nathormal. The Shriguruji has ordered that one *chira* and the one *aswari khasgi* be sent for his personal use. It should be white, very white. Should be sent early. The Guru will bless you, protect you and fulfill all your desires." The original letter so far as I have been able to decipher reads:

"May God Protect You"

Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Nathormal and Saddrimal. "I want one *chira* and one *aswari*... Send. Bless be the congregation."*

* G.B. Singh, 'Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal', *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. IX, Part I, April, 1975.

(31)

Ak-Onkar Satguru

Siri Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji enjoins- Bhai Lakhya, Sahib, Lada, *Sart (Sarabat) Sangat gur thadi (tuhadi) rakhega,*

Sangat de manorath guru pure karega

Sangat di seva da vela hai

Bhai Lakhya *tun guran da poot hai,*

tere oopar khushi hai, Guru *Sangat de*

bohari karega,

*Ak rupee mewra ko dena.**

* *The History of the Muhiyals: The Militant Brahman Race of India,* compiled for the General Muhiyal Sabha by T.P. Russell Stracey, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1911.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *HUKAMNAMAS*

1.

(Endorsement in Guru Tegh Bahadur's handwriting)

In the name of True Guru

Bhai Ugar Sain, the Guru shall protect the entire congregation. Ramdas Jagdeo is your home and the Guru's as well. You are the Guru's son and the leader of all the *Masands*. The responsibility of the place is entrusted to you. A messenger is dispatched to call for Ramdas Gurditta, Bhai Guria, Bhai Kalyan Das. As soon as they assemble we shall communicate you the real situation. You have served us much and placing our confidence much more in you, we shall keep sending our man from Murari. Presently everything depends on you.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur orders that Bhai Ugar Sain along with the entire congregation has the protection of the Guru. The desires of the congregation shall be fulfilled. Ramdas Jagdeo is your home and the Guru's as well. You are the son of the Guru and the leader of all the *Masands*. The responsibility of the place lies with you. The messengers are sent to call for Ramdas Gurditta, Bhai Guria, Bhai Kalyan Das. As soon as they assemble, we shall write you the real situation. Ramdas Ji, you have served us much and our confidence in you is more. The Guru shall protect you. It is the Guru's pleasure.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

Note: There are no stops in the original. Thus an element of arbitrariness creeps in the translations. At times it is difficult to decide how to render the text. For example, in *hukamnama* 13, it could Maharaj Dalpat Das or two persons in Maharaj and Dalpat Das. Similarly, a phrase connects itself with what goes before and after.

2.

(Entire *hukamnama* is in the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Ramdas Ugar Sain, Bhai Lal Chand and the entire congregation shall be protected. Bring the offerings, an embroidered dress and six oxen to present to Mata Ji on the occasion of *Diwali* along with the entire congregation. Take Mata Ji's command to be the command of the Guru. The congregation shall be blessed. It is the time for the congregation to do service to the Guru. The congregation shall desirously contribute their offerings to Ramdas. The congregation shall flourish. Ramdas Jagdeo is the home of the Guru. We are greatly pleased with Ramdas Ji.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

3.

(In the Guru's handwriting)

In the name of the True Guru

Ramdas Ugar Sain, Bhai Lal Chand. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation. Ramdas Ji, the offerings, the dress and the oxen presented to Mata Ji, have reached the Guru. You have the blessing of the Guru. Your home is that of the Guru's. The Guru is deeply pleased. It is the time for the congregation to perform services for the Guru.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

4.

(Bhai Tara, Bhai Koka and the entire congregation of Pattan)

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru blesses the congregation. Their desires shall be fulfilled. The entire congregation of Pattan is enjoined to come to our presence. A Sikh who accompanies Bhai Batha shall be blessed. Now is the time for the Sikhs to perform services for the Guru...

(In the hand of the scribe)

In the name of the One Supreme Being, the True Guru.

Shri Guru Jeo enjoins on Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru shall bless the congregation. The Guru blesses the livelihood of the congregation. Their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Batha, you are Shri Guru Jeo's son. Come to our presence alongwith the congregation. A Sikh who accompanies Bhai Batha shall be blessed. Now is the time for the Sikhs, the beloved sons, to render services. As the congregation desires its sustenance will increase. The Guru is pleased. The Guru shall bless the congregation with happiness. Such is the pleasure of the Guru.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

5.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru's blessing is on the congregation. The Guru shall help the congregation with livelihood. All their desires shall be fulfilled. The entire congregation should come on *Diwali* for Guru's *darshan*. The Sikhs who come shall be blessed. The congregation of Pattan is directly under the Guru (*Khalsa*). The Guru blesses it with happiness. Bhai Batha is the son of the Guru. The entire congregation should obey him. The Guru protects.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

It is the Guru's commandment to Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru blesses the congregation. The Guru shall bless them with livelihood. All their desires shall be fulfilled. The entire congregation should come on *Diwali* for sight of the Guru. A Sikh who comes shall be blessed. The congregation of Pattan is directly under the Guru (*Khalsa*). The Guru shall bless the congregation with happiness. Bhai Batha is a son of the Guru. The congregation should obey him. It is our pleasure.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

6.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha. The entire congregation shall be blessed. Bhai Batha, you are the Guru's son. Come to the Guru's presence along with the entire congregation. The congregation is enjoined to obey Bhai Batha.

(In the scribe's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

This is the Guru's commandment to Bhai Batha and the entire congregation. The Guru shall succour the congregation. The Guru shall bless the congregation with livelihood. Their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Batha, you are our Sikh. Come to our presence alongwith the congregation. A Sikh accompanying Bhai Batha to our *darshan*, shall be blessed. The Guru shall confer success on his enterprises. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. The congregation should obey his instructions. The Guru sanctifies the labours of the congregation and make them prosper.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

7.

(Endorsement)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

The Guru shall protect. Bhai Batha is asked to bring the entire congregation to have the Guru's sight. Those who come shall be blessed with happiness. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. All are advised to follow his instructions.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

8.

(Endorsement)

Bhai Batha is asked to come to have the Guru's sight alongwith the entire congregation. Those who come shall be blessed. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. All are advised to obey his instructions. The Guru shall make profitable.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Sri Guru Jeo enjoins Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru blesses the congregation and helps the congregation prosper ...

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

9.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha. Let the entire congregation come to the Guru's sight. Those who come shall be blessed. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. The congregation should obey him. The Guru's blessings are on the entire congregation of Pattan.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

The Guru's commandment is addressed to Bhai Batha and the entire congregation. The Guru shall succour the congregation. The livelihood of the congregation is blessed. All their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Batha should come to have the Guru's sight. A Sikh who accompanies him shall be blessed with the success of his enterprises. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. The entire congregation should obey his instructions as if these are from the Guru. The Guru shall help the livelihood of the congregation. They shall be blessed with happiness. The congregation of Pattan shall be flourish. You have Guru's pleasure. The Guru shall bless the congregation with prosperity. Fail not to come to the Guru's *darshan*.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

10.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect you. Let not the mule of the Guru's stable lost. It is time for your offerings.

(In the scribe's handwriting)

In the name of the One Supreme Being, the True Guru

The Guru enjoins Bhai Malla and Bhai Bagha. The entire congregation shall be succoured. All their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Bagha and Bhai Malla to note. A mule and two oxen from the stable of the Guru have been lifted at Jamalpur by cattle-lifters of the village Dharde. As is known to you, the mule is with Darde men in Bakala. The oxen have already recovered from the lifters. It is time for your offerings. You are instructed to get back the mule. The Guru shall bless the congregation with prosperity. It is the time for you to send the offerings. The Guru is greatly pleased with you.

(Preserved in Naushehra Pannuan in Amritsar District)

11.

(In the Guru's own handwriting)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Bal Chand, Bhai Harkrishan, Bhai Chatarbhuj, Bhai Lalu. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Mirzapur. Send your collection of offerings through Bhai Dyal Das. It shall reach the Guru. The congregation shall flourish. The offerings previously made have been received.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

12.

(In the Guru's handwriting)

In the name of True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation. All are advised to look after well Sridhar, the horse. Let Sridhar be provided with provisions. On its recovery, it should be sent to Patna. The congregation is blessed.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

13.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Jat Mal, Bhai Rama Yadav, grass-cutter, Bhai Kalyan Das, Bhoti Seth, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhikhari Das, Maharaja, Dalpat Das, Hira Man, Durga Das, Ganga Ram, Raghu Nath, Mahanand. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Benaras. Let the congregation feelingly entrust its offerings to Bhai Javehari. He shall convey to Bhai Dyal Das. It shall reach the Guru. The congregation is blessed. It is the time of rendering services to the Guru.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

14.

(In the Guru's hand)

The One Supreme Being

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal Masand, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Jat Mal, Bhoti Seth, Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Maha Nand, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Bhikhari, Dalpat Das, Bhai Rama Nand, Bhai Manji, Bhai Man Singh, Phagu Shah, Bhai Bal Kishan, Bhai Chhut Mal, Bhai Mani Ram and the entire congregation of Benaras and the province of Benaras. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of the members of the congregation. The offerings sent through Bhai Dyal Das has been received by the Guru. Bhai Dyal 'Das' instruction be obeyed by the congregation as if they were the Guru's command. A Sikh having a cowrie, dedicated to the Guru, shall hand it over to Bhai Dyal Das. The Guru blesses the congregation with incremental livelihood.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

15.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Das, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Bhoti, Bhai Seth, Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari, Maharaj, Rama, Balkishan, Man Singh, Chhut Mal, Nand Roop and the entire congregation of Benaras and the surrounding region. The Guru shall protect you. Meditate on Guru's name. It shall bless your lives. Offerings worth eighty rupee have been received. The congregation should make over their offerings to Bhai Dyal Das. They will reach the Guru. The congregation will prosper. Now is the time to serve the Guru.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

16.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Javehari, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Bhoti, Kalyan Das, Bhai Sibhu Seth, Dalpat, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari Das. Let the entire congregation of Benaras repeat Guru's name. It shall make a success of their births. The Guru shall fulfill the desires of the entire congregation. The offering of one hundred and sixty-six rupee from the congregation, sent through Bhai Dyal Das, has been received by the Guru. The congregation is blessed. In future all the offerings, presents and *mannat* be devotedly sent through Bhai Dyal Das. The congregation will prosper. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of the congregationists.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

17.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal, Bhai Bhoti Seth, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Jat Mal, Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Babu Mani, Bhikhari, Man Singh, Maharaj, Rama Jado Ghasi, Koka, Mana, Balkishan, Sukh Deo, Phagu Shah, Chhut Man, Roop Narain. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Benaras *Suba*. It will prosper. The congregation is instructed to hand over their offerings to Bhai Dyal Das. These shall reach the Guru. The congregation is blessed. We are camping at Monghyr. The desires of a Sikh who comes to have Guru's sight shall be fulfilled.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

18.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Bhai Javehar Mal, Bhai Bhoti, Bhai Shibhu Seth, Kalyan Mal, Puran Mal, Bhikhari Das, Babu Rai, Mani Jado, Hiraman Das, Maharaj, Durga Das, Manni, Koka, Deo. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Benaras. Repeat Guru's name. Your births will fulfil their purpose. The congregation is blessed. The offerings sent through Bhai Dyal Das have reached us. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of the congregationists. The *Sangat* should keep on obeying the instructions of Bhai Dyal Das. The Sikhs will do well.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

19.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

In the name of True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal, Bhai Kalyan Das, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Ram Bigah Mal, Mun Jeo and the entire congregation of Benaras. The Guru shall protect. The offerings sent through Bhai Dyal Das have reached the Guru. Long to make offerings in future. Let the congregation consider Bhai Dyal Das' instructions as the command of the Guru. All their desires shall be fulfilled.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

20.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Bhai Javahar Mal, Bhai Sadanand, Bhai Kirpala, Bhai Babu, Bhai Bhikhari, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Man Singh, Bhai Phaggu Shah, Bhai Jairam Das, Bhai Chhatek Mal and the entire congregation of the *Suba* of Benaras. The Guru shall protect. You repeat the Guru's name. Your lives are blessed. All those Sikhs who repeat *Waheguru* shall be blessed with prosperity. Their offerings to Bhai Dayal Das shall reach the Guru to bear fruit. The Guru shall look to the welfare of the congregation.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)

21.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Jai Singh, Bhai Chimna, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Bansidhar, Bhai Murli, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Seth, Chhabil Das, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Pran Nath, Bakhshi, Murlidhar, Bhai Hira Nand, Bhai Sangat Das, Bhai Jhabar, Bhai Gurdas, Paras Ram, Mohan Das, Nain Sukh, Bal Gobind, Shankar Das, Sada Nand, Suja Ram, Bhagwan Das, Gujar Mal, Shankar Das, Nand Lal, Chhajju Mal, Nand Kuar, Bhai Jasodha Nandan, Mehar Chand, Pran Nath, Bali Ram, Subha Chand, Jagdeo, Dalpat Rai, Ani Rai, Ghanshyam, Sukhdeo, Gaj Mal, Gajua, Bhag Mal, Chhabil Das, Suphera, Amlia, Pheru, Kirpala, Bansi, Sukhdeo, Peri Bai, Ram Chand, Harkesh, Chhabil Das, Mittar Sain, Kewal Ram, Mangu, Ananta, Man Sukh, Basant Rai, Lachhua, Bala, Sada Nand, Sadhu and the entire congregation of Patna. The Guru shall protect you. Repeat Guru's name. You will make a success of your lives. The congregationists will flourish. The offerings of cloth sent through Bhai Mehar Chand and Bhai Kalyan Rai have reached us. The Guru shall add to the livelihood of the congregation. Patna is Guru's home. The congregation is blessed.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)

22.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Sobha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Bansi, Bhai Murli, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Mohan Das, Bebe Peri Bai and the entire congregation. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of his Sikhs. I have encamped at Monghyr. It is time for the congregation to serve. Brother, inform the *Masands* of your province from beyond to come for the sight of the Guru alongwith their congregations. Sikhs shall be blessed with prosperity for the visit. It is a time for the congregation to serve. Let the congregation obey the instructions of Bhai Dyal Das as if they are from the Guru. The Guru shall add to the livelihood of the congregation. Brother, we wish to write to Sahzadpur for tents for our camp. As you suggest we shall send a communication to the congregation. Send two score of turbans of Bihar, the ones at forty rupees a score. Livelihood of the congregation will increase.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)

23.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Ghanshyam, Jag Man, Murli Dhar, Bhai Bansi, Bhai Singha, Sada Nand, Kawal Nain, Ram Rai, Lal Man, Chhabil Das, Bal Gobind, Amlia, Pheru, Kirpal, Sangat Das, Baijnath, Jhabar Singh, Bhagwan, Gujar Mal, Peri Bai, Ram Chand, Dina Nath, Pran Nath, Jagdeo, Bhoj Raj, Dalpat Das, Bhara, Darya, Chinta, Bindraban, Pran Nath, Mehar Chand, Hira Nand, Pran Nath and the entire congregation. The Guru shall fulfil your desires. The departure is fixed in the month of *Assu* (*Asuj*). Send articles worth seventy rupees for our camp immediately on receipt of the letter as these are urgently required. The camp is to leave. Brother, come along soon to have the Guru's sight alongwith the entire congregation. The Guru shall bless the livelihood of the congregation. Patna is the home of the Guru.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir, Patna City)

24.

(In the Guru's hand)

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In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Din Dyal, Bhai Mehar Chand...Nath, Bhai Hira Nand, Ragho Das, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Bansidhar, Bhai Murlidhar...Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Nain Sukh, Bhai Harkesh, Bhai Chhabil Das, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Bhai ... Bhai Sada Nand, Bhai Ghanshyam, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai...'Bhai Singha, Bhai Sangat Das, Bhai Baijnath, Bhai Sukh Deo, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Bhai..., Bhai Jagman, Bhai Chhabil Das, Bhai Roopan, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Anant Das, Bhai..., Supher Chand, Bhai Nain Sukh, Gulal Chand, Bal Gobind, Bhai Bhagta, Bindraban..., Pala, Pheru, Bansidhar, Sukh Deo, Machhi, Suja Ram, Chain Sukh, Hira Nand, Paras Ram..., Mitter Sain, Gaj Man, Jagdeo, Dalpat Das, Bhai Muluk Dasia, Chetan..., Lacchua, Raghnath, Fateh Chand, Bebe Peri Bai, Dina Nath, Pran Nath... and the entire congregation of Patna. The Sikhs who have chosen God shall have their desires fulfilled. The expense incurred by the congregation on the jubilation at Gobind Das' birth has changed into a blessing in the Guru's court. The money has earned blessing of the Guru. The offerings sent earlier also earned the Guru's blessings. Whosoever serves the Guru in future shall increase. A robe of honour has been sent. Patna is Guru's home. The congregation is blessed.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)

25.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Sobha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Hira Nand, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Hira Nand, Bhai Sobha Chand, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Murli, Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Bhai Harji Mal, Bhai Sada Nand, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Bal Gobind, Bhai Jag Man, Sangat Das, Bhai Baij Nath, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Amalia, Kirpal, Pheru, Bhai Bindraban, Bhai Lal Man, Chhabila, Nain Sukh, Bhai Mula, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Chetan Jado, Bebe Peri Bai, Bhara, Maluka, Lachua, Bhai Pran Nath and the entire congregation of Patna. The Guru shall protect you. Repeat Guru's name to make success of your lives. The congregation will do well. The Sikhs, devoting themselves to God will have their desires fulfilled. Patna is the home of the Guru. The congregation shall be succoured. The congregation serves Gobind Das. Your service is blessed in the court of the Guru. It will add to the welfare of the congregation. Send the camp equipment, if it has been received from Bhai Raja from beyond. Send one fine canopy, three screens and equipment for privy to the main chamber. Send three screens and one enclosure for the kitchen. Send also a tent of five yards measure, chamber equipment, screens and other equipment through Bhai Mallu Mehra. The congregation shall be blessed. Patna is the Guru's own home.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir, Patna City).

26.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mihar Chand, Bhai Sobh Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Pehlad, Bhai Bansi, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Dina Nath, Mohan Das, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Mihar Chand, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai Singh, Bhai Sada Nand, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Chhabil Das, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Bal Gobind, Bhai Amliya, Bhai Kirpal, Bhai Baij Nath, Bhai Sangat Das, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Bebe Peri Bai, Bhai Ram Chand, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Gujar Mal, Bhai Jagdeo, Bhai Bhoj Rai, Bhai Dalpat Das, Bhara, Darya, Chinta, Bindraban, Pran Nath and the entire congregation of the province of Patna. The Guru shall protect you. Those of the Sikhs who have repeated *Waheguru* (God), will have their desires fulfilled through the Guru. We have travelled to the beyond alongwith the Raja and have left our family in Patna. The Sikhs who have repeated *Waheguru*, should do service. A *paisa* given to the Guru, shall be rewarded with a *mohar* of blessing. Now is the time for the congregation to serve the Guru. A Sikh who serves shall his livelihood be blessed. It is time to serve the Guru. Lodge our family in a fine, large mansion. The Guru shall bless the livelihood of the congregation. It is the time to serve the Guru.

(Preserved in the Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)

27.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Chain Sukh, Mehar Chand, Subha Chand, Bhai Ded Man, Bhai Jeth Mal, and the entire congregation. The Guru shall protect you. Despatch five baskets of vessels of Minapore... *Albele, Surahi* (long necked pitcher), bowls (*pyale*) of superior quality to the *Dharamsala* of Bhai Kalyana at Delhi through bearers. They are to be gifted to Nawab Saif Khan. Send vessels of superior quality. The congregation shall be blessed. Send six pieces of coarse homespun cotton cloth (*kharve reje*), hundred yards of unbleached cloth (*kora*), ten seers of *tanawa* (a slender rope attached to support the tent) and ten seers of *nawar* (tape used for stringing cots). Send the money to be collected at the engagement ceremony of Dharma.

(Preserved in the Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)

28.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari and Bhai Ded Mal. The Guru shall bless the entire congregation. I set out four days ago. The Raja marched seven days ago. I have been halting in order to meet you. Travel day and night, and reach us at the earliest. Take a fast mount, and reach here within twenty four hours. Delay not a moment. I am waiting for you. Come very fast. The Guru blesses the congregation.

(Preserved in the Hari Mandir Sahib Patna City)

29.

Bhai Pran (Nath)
Bhai
Gujar Mal
Kishan Das
Ghansya(m)
Chhabil Das, Bhai
Amlia, Keso, Kir (pala)
... Pala, Goverdhan Das
Bhag Mal, Maluka
Hirdey Ram
Baba, Mula, Bugha, Roora
Bara, Pran Nath.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

30.

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

This letter is written to the revered and respected, "Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Saddhrimal and Nathormal. The *Shriguruji* has ordered that one *chira* and the one *aswari khasgi* be sent for his personal use. It should be white, very white. Should be sent early. The Guru will bless you, protect you and fulfill all your desires." The original letter so far as I have been able to decipher reads:

"May God Protect You"

Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Nathormal and Saddrimal. "I want one *chira* and one *aswari*... Send. Bless be the congregation."*

* G.B. Singh, 'Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal; *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. IX, Part I, April, 1975.

31.

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji enjoins—Bhai Lakhya, Sahib, Lada alongwith the entire congregation shall be protected.

... The desires of the congregation shall be fulfilled...

... It is the time for the congregation to do service...

... Bhai Lakhya, you are the Guru's son...

... The Guru is deeply pleased with you...

... Pay one rupee to the messenger...

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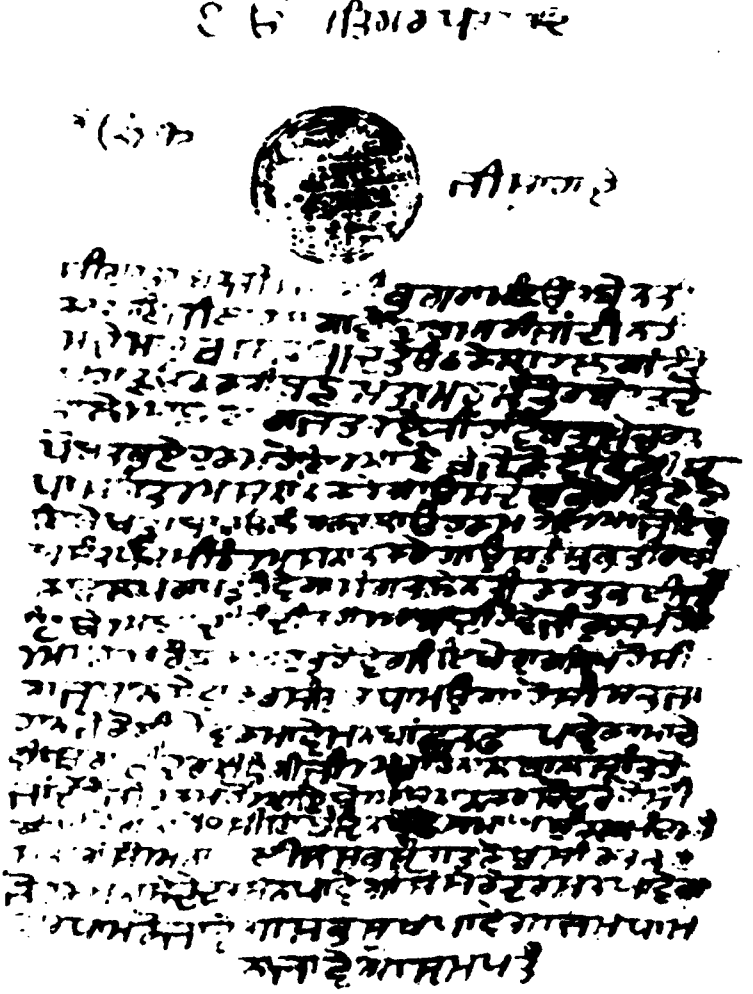
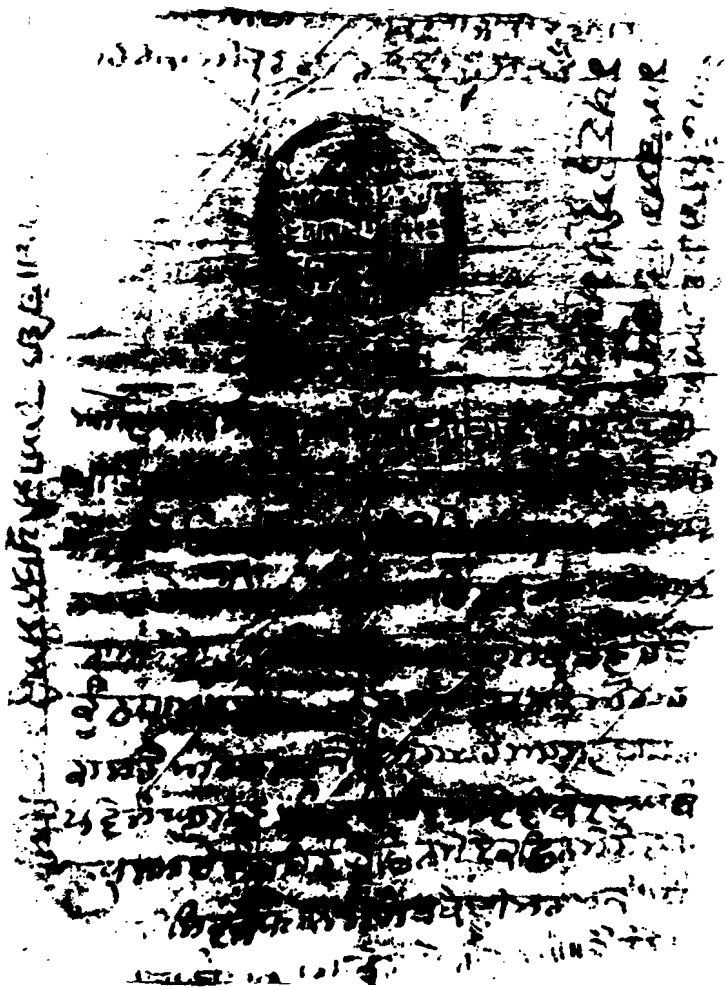
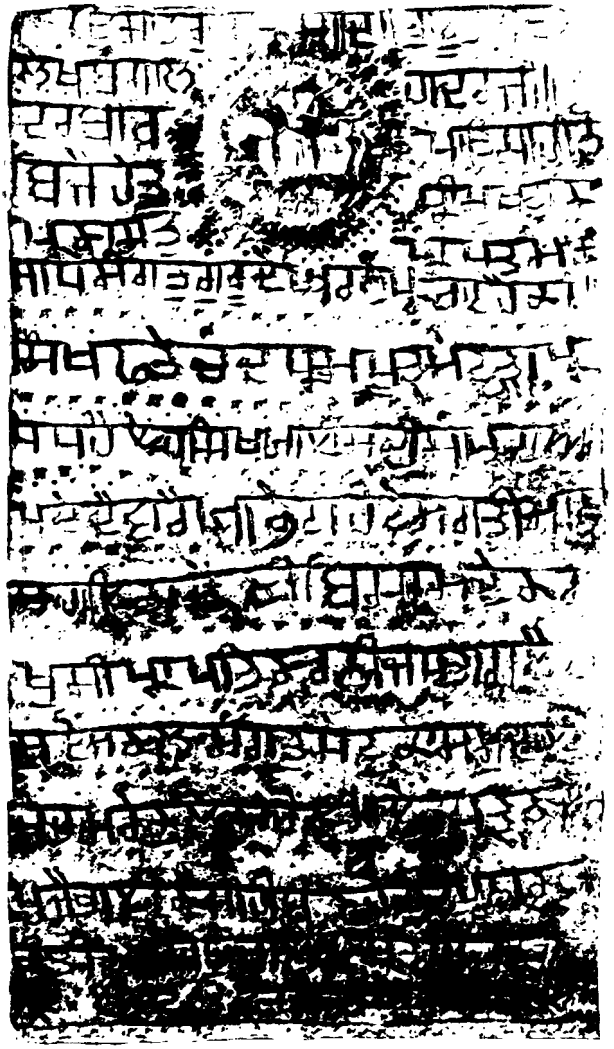
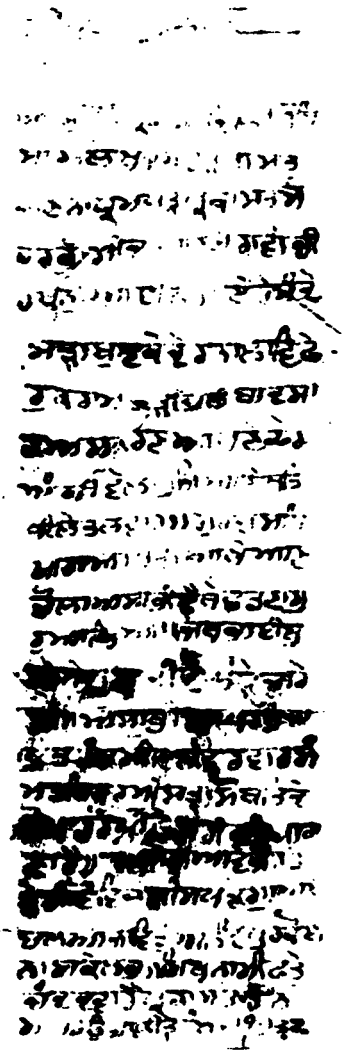
* *The History of the Muhiyals: The Militant Brahman Race of India*, compiled for the General Muhiyal Sabha by T.P. Russell Stracey, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1911.

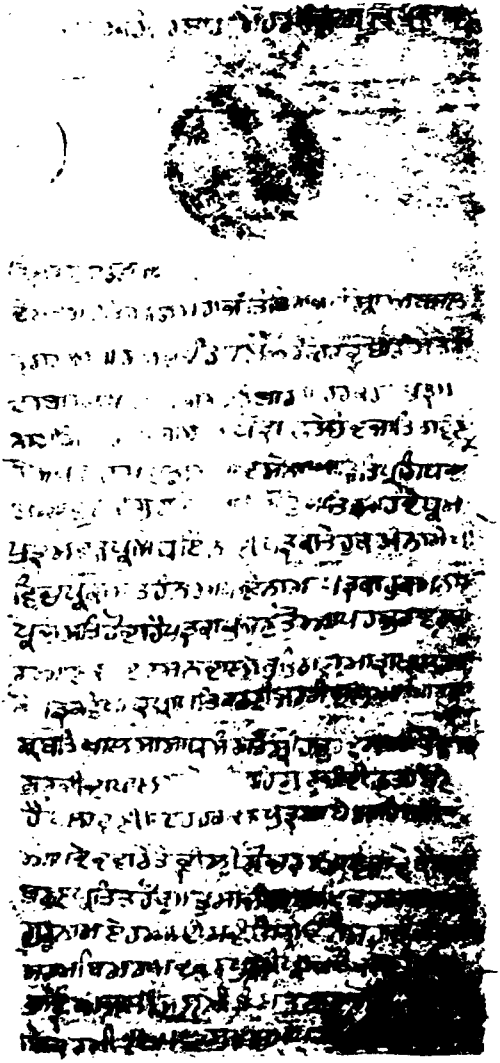
UNAUTHENTIC *HUKAMNAMAS*

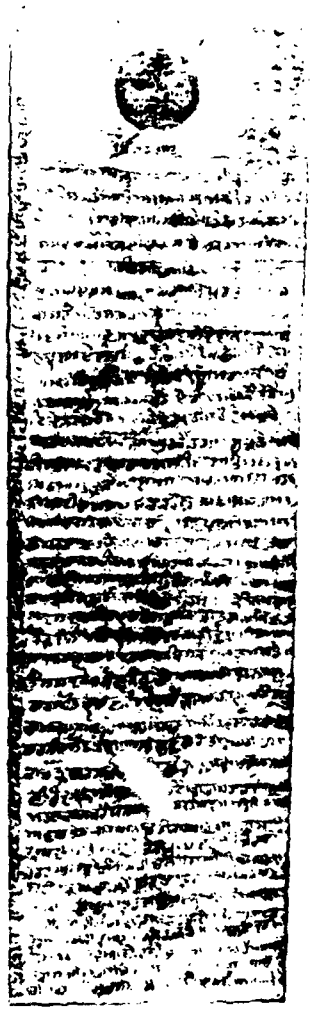












GLOSSARY

albele (ਅਲਬੇਲੇ) - Caskets.

alūfā (ਅਲੂਫਾ) - Provisions.

ander dā derā (ਅੰਦਰ ਦਾ ਡੇਰਾ) - Inner Chamber.

Assu no kooch (ਅਸੁ ਨੋ ਕੂਚ) -Departure is fixed in the month of *Assu*, the sixth month of lunar year (September/October).

aswārī (ਅਸਵਾਰੀ) - Conveyance (as a horse, elephant, camel, carriage, cart etc.).

aswārī khāsagī (ਅਸਵਾਰੀ ਖਾਸਗੀ) -A good stead.

bāhurī (ਬਾਹੁੜੀ) - To respond to help/protect/defend someone, to bless someone.

balad (ਬਲਦ) - ox, oxen.

Bāngar Desh (ਬਾਂਗਰ ਦੇਸ਼) -Barren land with low rainfall; the area including Kaithal and Jind districts of Haryana State.

barkati (ਬਰਕਤਿ) -Blessing, good fortune, prosperity.

Bhatt Vahi (ਭੱਟ ਵਹੀ) -Family account maintained by bard families.

bhet (ਭੇਟ) -Gift or donation, voluntary offering, presentation etc.

chhāwanī (ਛਾਵਣੀ) - A camp, stay, halt.

chīrā (ਚੀਰਾ) -Turban, head gear.

chortiā (ਚੋਰਟਿਆ) - A thief, a pilfer, a lifter.

darsan (ਦਰਸਨ) - Sight, appearance, visit, visit to a sacred shrine and authority.

dere ke kheme (ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ ਖੇਮੇ) -Tents for camp.

dharamsālā (ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ) -A place of worship, house of God, an inn for pilgrims and travellers.

Dīwālī (ਦੀਵਾਲੀ) -Festival of lights celebrated by Hindus and Sikhs in the lunar month of Katak. (October/ November).

Ek Onkar (ੴ) -One Supreme Being.

girad nivāhī (ਗਿਰਦ ਨਿਵਾਹੀ) -In the vicinity, surrounding region.

Gobind (ਗੋਬਿੰਦ) -An epithet of God; Guru Gobind Singh.

Gurmukhī (ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ) -The script used for writing Punjabi language.

Guru Granth (ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ) -The Sacred Scripture of the Sikhs.

Hakīkati (ਹਕੀਕਤਿ) -Real situation, reality, matter of fact.

havelī (ਹਵੇਲੀ) -A mansion, a big house, villa.

hazuri (ਹਜੂਰਿ) - In the presence, in the presence of a superior authority; your Honour, before the Guru.

hukam (ਹੁਕਮ) -An order, a command, rule, law, direction.

janam saorey (ਜਨਮ ਸਉਰੇ) -Bless their lives.

judāwal (ਜੁਡਾਵਲ) -An embroidered dress, ornamental robe.

kabīlā (ਕਬੀਲਾ) -Family, clan.

kahār (ਕਹਾਰ) -A bearer of palanquin or bearer.

kalandarī rasoī (ਕਲੰਦਰੀ ਰਸੋਈ) -An enclosure for kitchen.

kamm rāsī karaigā (ਕੰਮ ਰਾਸਿ ਕਰੈਗਾ) -Shall confer success or prosperity in economic enterprise.

kanāt (ਕਨਾਤ) -A screen.

kār (ਕਾਰ) -Mandatory offerings.

kaudī (ਕਉਡੀ) -A cowrie, the lowest unit of money exchange.

khachar (ਖਚਰ) -A mule.

Khālsā (ਖਾਲਸਾ) -The Sikh order, brotherhood created on the Baisakhi day of 1699 by Guru Gobind Singh.

khālsā (ਖਾਲਸਾ) -Directly under the Guru.

khārī Bīr (ਖਾਰੀ ਬੀਰ) -A manuscript of *Adi Granth* claimed to have been copied by Bhai Banno from the orignial *Granth* edited by Guru Arjun Dev.

kharwā (ਖਰਵਾ) -Coarse, rough cloth.

kharwe reje (ਖਰਵੇ ਰੇਜੇ) -Coarse, homespun cotton cloth.

khasmānā (ਖਸਮਾਨਾ) -To treat in a befitting manner, to make one satisfied.

kirati vich barkati (ਕਿਰਤਿ ਵਿਚ ਬਰਕਤਿ) -Sanctify the labours, help the livelihood.

kooch (ਕੂਚ) -Departure.

korā (ਕੋਰਾ) -Unbleached cloth.

korīān paggā (ਕੋੜੀਆ ਪੱਗਾ) -Score of turban.

kosā dauran wālā (ਕੋਸਾ ਦਉੜਨ ਵਾਲਾ) -A fast mount.

kurehat (ਕੁਰਹਿਤ) -Prohibition; anathema.

kurmāī (ਕੁੜਮਾਈ) -Engagement, betrothal.

lochoge (ਲੋਚਹੁਗੇ) -Will desire, will wish.

madār (ਮਦਾਰ) -Responsibility.

Maghar (ਮੱਘਰ) -The ninth month of a lunar year; it starts from middle of November to the middle of December.

Mājhā (ਮਾਝਾ) -The area of Central Punjab lying between the Beas and Ravi rivers.

Mālwā (ਮਾਲਵਾ) -The plains tract extending south and south-east of the Sutlej; it includes Faridkot, Ferozepore, Ludhiana and Patiala districts.

mangal (ਮੰਗਲ) -Ascription, invocation.

mannat (ਮੰਨਤ) -Donation made on fulfilment of one's desire.

manorath poore honge (ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ) -Desires shall be fulfilled.

Mewrā (ਮੇਵੜਾ) -A messenger; a class of messengers.

mohar (ਮੋਹਰ) -A gold coin.

mujrā (ਮੁਜਰਾ) -To be presented to.

mukām (ਮੁਕਾਮ) -Stay, camp, halt.

nām (ਨਾਮ) -The Divine Name.

nawār (ਨਵਾਰ) -A kind of large cotton webbing used in making tents; tape used for stringing bed.

nihāl hoe (ਨਿਹਾਲ ਹੋਏ) -To be blessed with happiness.

Poh (ਪੋਹ) -The tenth month of a lunar year (from the middle of December to the middle of January).

pyālā (ਪਿਆਲਾ) -A bowl.

Ramdās (ਰਮਦਾਸ) -A respectable Sikh, a Masand, representative of the Guru.

rāsi (ਰਾਸਿ) -Capital, property, possessions, stock in trade.

rāwati (ਰਾਵਟੀ) -Tent.

rijak (ਰਿਜਕ) -Food, provision, materials for food, sustenance.

rujgār (ਰੁਜਗਾਰ) - Employment, service, business, mean of livelihood.

rujgār vich barkati (ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਬਰਕਤਿ) - Blessed with incre mental livelihood, prosperity.

sādhū (ਸਾਧੂ) -A virtuous person, holy man.

Sangat (ਸੰਗਤ) -A gathering, assembly, congregation.

sarabat (ਸ੍ਰਬਤ) -Entire, whole.

sarkār (ਸ੍ਰਕਾਰ) -A king, government, head of civil administration; here it refers to the Guru especially.

sehatkhānā (ਸੇਹਤਖਾਨਾ) -An equipment for privy.

sewā (ਸੇਵਾ) -Service.

sirpāo (ਸਿਰਪਾਉ) -A robe of honour.

sitāb (ਸਿਤਾਬ) -Quickly, immediately.

sūbā (ਸੂਬਾ) -A province.

suhelā (ਸੁਹੇਲਾ) -A canopy.

surāhī (ਸੁਰਾਹੀ) -A long necked pitcher.

Takhat (ਤਖਤ) -Throne; the Sikh centre of temporal authority.
tanāwā (ਤਣਾਵਾ) -A slender rope attached to support the tent.
tolā (ਤੋਲਾ) -A unit of weight equal to 11.664 gms.
vādhā karegā (ਵਾਧਾ ਕਰੇਗਾ) -Shall be blessed with prosperity.
Wāhegurū (ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ) -The wonderful Lord; God Almighty.

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94. Suphera / Supher Chand - 21, 24.

A *Sangat* in *Majha* Region

1. Bagha (Bhai) - 10
2. Malla (Bhai) - 10

Pattan *Sangat*

1. Batha (Bhai) - 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

Ramdas Jagdeo *Sangat*

1. Gurditta (Ramdas) - 1
2. Guria (Bhai) - 1
3. Kalyan Das (Bhai) - 1
4. Lal Chand (Bhai) - 2, 3
5. Ugar Sain (Bhai, Ramdas) - 1, 2, 3

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